Sherrie Good
624 Collicello St
Harrisonburg, VA 22801

AKWESASNE NOTES

"WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS"

Volume 6
Number 1

Circulation:
65,000

Early Spring, 1974
April issue

News-stand price
fifty-cents
(forty-eight pages)

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee lawyers gave the court six reasons why charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks should be dismissed. First, it was said, the U.S. Government had invaded and infiltrated the defense team itself. *(continued on page 8)*

Nothing could be more foolish, in the eyes of most Native American philosophers, than considering all men equal . . . Each individual, each thing in the Creation, has a unique spirit and character which must be acknowledged and respected as people deal with each other. The "right to be different" is as important as the "right to be equal." *(continued on page 3)*

Alaskan natives are struggling with the problems arising out of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act which cleared the way for the Alaskan pipeline, still uncertain whether the huge settlement is boon or doom.
(continued on page 22)

The United States, and the rest of America, both north and south, are being destroyed. The land is being ripped open and left unhealed. The forests are being decimated or turned into artificial "treefarms". The rivers, lakes, and ocean shores are being polluted. The asphalt-concrete-and-plastic jungles of Overseas European culture are being extended constantly, leaving behind decaying ruins filled with the rejected sectors of human society.
(continued on page 36)

For hundreds of years, the collusion of government, commercial, and religious interests has brought about the genocidal displacement and concentration of indigenous peoples living on the frontiers of capitalism. While "Christianizing savages", missionaries have seldom questioned the "need" for taking the lands of tribal people, but rather have seen it as the "inevitable advance of civilization." *(continued on page 30)*

HOW IT IS WITH US:

We said it last issue, and we say it again: we wish we could publish more often, but when we are short-staffed and have to raise funds to pay the printer, we just have to do the best we can.

There are many important things which should be in this issue — Canada-side news, for instance. Please do not be discouraged if an item was omitted — we will do our best to include it in the next issue. It isn't exactly an oversight — we can see the boxes of material in front of us. But if we wait to make sure we have everything, this issue would be several months later than it already is.

We are grateful to the many people who wrote to us about available land. We will reply to each one, but now we have selected as first priority a site in the Adirondack Mountains, the traditional Mohawk hunting lands, in a beautiful wilderness setting close to the Creation. It is ideal for a production center, with buildings for living and working.

It's what we dreamed of — and the price is less than most suburban bungalows would cost. We do not have funds of our own to obtain this site for a production center — we are hoping that some individual or church group will be able to assist us in the purchase, either in their name or ours. We are not interested in accumulating assets — just good shelter to do the task we have before us.

* * * * * * * * *

Next winter, we hope to produce a special issue of NOTES on the native people of this continent who live south of the U.S. border. We plan to take several months to visit, share, participate. Persons with information, suggestions, ideas, resources, etc., are invited to write so that we can plan the venture well.

AKWESASNE NOTES

AKWESASNE NOTES is the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne (People of the Longhouse) and contains (from time to time) the Longhouse News, the official publication of the Mohawk Nation at Caughnawaga.

Winner: Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalism Award Special Citation (1973), Marie Potts Award of the American Indian Press Association (1972).

Member: American Indian Press Association
Alternate Press Syndicate

Printed in Canada by
Smiths Falls (Ontario) Record-News

AKWESASNE NOTES is published seven times annually: January, April & May, July & August, October & November. It is published by Program in American Studies of the State University of New York at Buffalo; co-publisher is D-Q University, Box 409, Davis, California.

Editorial and circulation offices are maintained on the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, near Hogansburg, New York, and on the north side of the reservation at Route 2, Cornwall, Ontario.

Second class postage paid at Hogansburg, New York 13622 and additional entry at Massena, New York 13662.

Postmaster: send form 3579 and all correspondence to:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
telephone: (518) 358-4697

DO YOU HAVE A RED LABEL?

Look at the front page — check your address label. If it is marked in red, this is the last issue you will receive unless we hear from you. We hope you won't be angry — this is the only way we have of cleaning up the mailing list every so often since there are no paid subscriptions.

This month, it is many of those whose zip codes begin with "0" and people of Nova Scotia who will have red labels. ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE TO US if you are red-labelled, and your name will be re-instated. This is not an appeal for money, although we would appreciate any support you may wish to send at this special time.

This is only a portion of the stacks of newspapers at our printer, The Smiths Falls [Ontario] Record-News. They are shipped by semi-truck [over twenty tons of newsprint are needed for each issue], unloaded into our small house where they are assembled, labelled, bundled, bagged, and shipped to you.

OUR TRAVELLING COMMUNICATIONS GROUP

AKWESASNE NOTES / White Roots of Peace people carry out an extensive travel schedule each year for a variety of reasons:

— to conduct interviews, report on news, to investigate, and make contacts for this newspaper.

— to meet with reservation groups, urban groups, prison groups, student groups to promote Indian unity, strength in the Indian ways, and to give out information on Indian situations.

— to meet with college and church groups to develop support and understanding, and to raise funds for travel, publishing activities, and support of this newspaper.

We are interested in people who wish to participate in this travel program. We can use additional help of a variety of kinds:

— we need people connected with colleges, church groups, and organizations who can arrange financial support and organize meetings in their areas.

— we need to hear from people who can offer a place to park and work on our next issue, people who are organizing Indian events, or people who want us to visit their areas to cover news or to meet with people.

The travel schedule for this summer, and for 1974-75 is still flexible, and will depend upon invitations, events, and finances. A trip to Central America is slated for December-January, primarily to visit native communities there in a joint trip with El Teatro Campesino.

Further information is available from NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

TO SUBSCRIBE

There is no fixed subscription price. But that does not mean this paper is free. Printing alone for this issue costs over $4,000, and typewriters, ribbons, postage, glue, etc., will add another $1,000 — and that doesn't include costs of keeping full-time staff alive.

Some people have lots of money; others have none. If you want the paper, we'll be glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that — that's the Indian way. Make it work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have been received. And since we have no grants, no other sources of finances, we must depend on you, the readers for our survival

HELP US TO DISTRIBUTE AKWESASNE NOTES

. . . ask your local/college bookstore or newsstand to carry a few copies . . . leave some papers at a food co-op, daycare center, workplace, tribal office . . . sell the paper on the reservation, at Indian meetings, church, on campus, on the street. We'll send a bundle on consignment and you send us 35 cents for each copy sold. Or order a packet of 6 for $2 prepaid or 20 for $5 prepaid. GET THE WORD OUT!

NEEDED FOR NOTES:

- **blankets, pillows, sleeping bags**
- **file cabinets**
- **portable clothes racks**
- **sturdy tables and chairs**
- **used tarps, canvas, rugs**
- **tools of all kinds**
- **seeds & roots for planting; perhaps seed houses or nurseries in your area have surplus stock available, including berries, fruit and nut tree seedlings**
- **lamps**
- **a ditto machine**

Keep Us Strong!

This paper cannot exist without the support of its readers — you, the human beings who read these words. There are many ways you can keep the paper alive and strong:

take action on what you read. Write letters, think, give support, change, lend spiritual help.

send clippings from your local papers. If there is a good photo, try to get a glossy print from the paper's photo department. Date and identify all clippings.

send us your own materials — articles, essays, book reviews, editorials, letters, poems, photos, tapes. All can be returned upon request.

take the responsibility of covering an event for NOTES and send a completed article, or simply information and interviews, in writing, or on tape. We can send a press card upon request.

send us mailing lists — we will send sample copies of the next issue. How about a list of tribal members? addresses from an Indian urban center? of Indian college students?

sell the paper at a powwow, meeting, church, on your reservation, at the Indian center, in bookstores, in town, and on campus. You send us 35 cents for each paper after and if they are sold. Great for consciousness-raising, too. Educate your community.

let us know of people who should have the paper — native people in institutions, friends, anyone who may want to read NOTES.

check out your school or public library. If they don't subscribe, suggest that they do so. If they can, encourage them to send a contribution — most send $5.

support the paper financially, if you are able. Particularly now during the summer months when people tend to forget.

Everything in this paper came from someone who cared to send it in. And to you all, we are grateful.

MOVING? PLEASE SEND US YOUR CHANGE OF ADDRESS — it saves us money and avoids loss of your copy.

(be sure to include your old address and zip code — and your new zip code, too!

Among those who travel with AKWESASNE NOTES communications group is a young Mohawk singer, Raosennawane (above), Bear Clan at Akwesasne. He is active in the affairs of his Nation, in the planting of food for the Indian Way School, in the circulation of NOTES, and in the preparation and shipping of Kinni-Kinnick. He is a good example of what NOTES is all about — and he's 15 years old.

AKWESASNE NOTES "staff" consists of so many people who help in so many ways — all over the world. Those whose lives revolve around NOTES at Akwesasne include Connie, Doug, Rarihokwats, Karoniaktatie, Pegi, Susi, Kanatakeniate, Coyote, Ateronhiatakon, Kawennos, Kahentehare, Raosennawane, Kanoharoton, Vernona Crow Dog, Grace Black Elk, Kahratohen, Levina, Lorena, and special help on this issue from Gayle High Pine, Jonny Lerner, Donna, Rick, Tonkaiye of the Tewa Nation, Rick Cook, George Stonefish, and Rokwaho. Then there are those who helped with the long job of labelling and mailing, those who cook for that crew, those who plant and harvest. To everyone who supports us spiritually and with materials, funds and energy — we give thanks to each other.

"The Right To Be Different"

– Shad/Canadian Association for Support of Native Peoples

CIVIL RIGHTS AND THE NATIVE PEOPLE OF NORTH AMERICA

Nothing could be more foolish, in the eyes of most Native American philosophers, than considering all men equal. Certainly all men are to be considered as "being of the same height" – no man has prerogatives over any other. That is self-evident, and ingrained in native social practices. But each individual, each thing in the Creation, has a unique spirit and character which must be acknowledged and respected as people deal with each other. The "right to be different" is as important as "the right to be equal."

If American and Indian concepts on the relationship of men to each other and to their governments differed only on philosophic fine points, writing (and reading) this article would be merely an academic exercise. But since the application of American civil rights and "equality" principles to North American Indians has been a major cause of disaster to the Indian way of life, this essay is an appeal, an urgent plea, that thinking men will sit down with open minds to consider the queries raised here.

For European peoples, the Magna Carta is pointed to in high school textbooks as the beginning of democracy and freedom. A closer reading of its text, however, gives some clue that the entire thrust of civil rights has been markedly different in the native experience as compared to the European experience.

The Magna Carta came at a time when monarchs and emperors ruled supreme. Nobles finally organized to protest their exclusion from the executive mansions, and the proclamation did establish the rights of dukes and lords vis-a-vis the king. It did nothing for the common people, who remained landless and without much right to walk on the earth.

As centuries passed, the white, Christian, European aristocrats attempted conquering much of the world, including, occasionally, each other. They set out to colonize the world for their benefits, and to subjugate or exterminate non-white, non-Christian human beings, a historical view that should by now be beyond dispute.

It would be surprising if powers capable of such inhumanities were gentle with their own people: frequently they were not. Imprisonment, institutionalization, massive individual and corporate accumulation of wealth, economic exploitation of laboring peoples and women were common European modes of life transplanted to the so-called New World. The Twentieth Century fruits of those roots are still evident in American society, and, if a reading of any daily newspaper is an indication, they offer a threat to its continuation.

It is no wonder, then, that the authors of the Declaration of Independence, with a few thousand miles of ocean as a buffer, found it necessary to proclaim that they, the colonists, were equal to the folks back home, that they were endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights that the King couldn't take away. That the document is primarily intended for the colonists alone among all men is explicit: it accuses the king of causing the frontiersmen to be bothered by "merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions." The concept of equality was not extended to those people who were defending their homes and lands in order to secure such "unalienable rights" as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness — the native people — nor to Blacks in slavery.

John Jay, first chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court, painted a clear picture of just who the U.S. was for: "Providence has been pleased to provide us with one unbroken continent, peopled by one people of one language, and adherence to one religion and belief." As he spoke those words, there were more Indians than Europeans in North America, who contrary to John Jay, thought they too had God on their side.

And as the years have passed, this thrust for civil rights of the ordinary man has continued – you must know the history better than I. But it does seem that the individual, particularly the poor and landless, the descendants of the peasants and serfs of years ago, is now victimized by the counterparts of kings, dukes, and nobles on the American scene, applying remnants of old European practices, however legal, which are immoral and thoughtless.

In contrast, on this land, there were and are many different nations of people who were dubbed "Indians", but who had in common eons of experience with laws, moral codes, and philosophies of life that grew from this continent like the trees and the mountains. Each nation believed that its ways were established by the Creation itself, that its laws were natural laws verifiable by nature itself, and that diversity of life-style from group to group (and similarity within a group) were the ways of nature.

For the native people of North America, the concept "of the people, by the people, for the people" was so deeply ingrained in social form that it would be most unusual for a person to need protection from his government: he WAS the government. Those good-old-American precepts that a leader is the servant of the people, that important matters are referred to the people for decision, that bad leadership can be recalled (immediately!) etc., are formalized in native governments.

The Constitution of the League of the Great Peace (which is more familiar to Western peoples as "The Iroquois") also sets out a division of powers, a bicameral legislature, procedure for passing legislation, and other matters, as an example of one native government. It contains much law utilized by the "founding fathers" in framing the American Constitution. It is ironic that this source of great principles of democracy should now be denied legitmacy by the government to which it gave life's breath.

For the Indian people, the source of their rights and their strength is their birthright as the first peoples on this land – sanctioned by the sun and the moon and the Mother Earth. Call them what you will: human rights, aboriginal rights, Indian rights: they are not given through treaty, but are confirmed in treaty; they are not granted by the United States, but must be recognized by the United States as one recognizes that the sun rises in the East.

Unfortunately, such rights did not come to the native peoples on a fancy parchment with a gold seal signed, "Creator." The Indian who appears in court to defend his claim to his land on which his ancestors have lived and farmed for thousands of years has no exhibit to offer in evidence to compare with the impressive deed and title issued by a State Land Registry.

Perhaps this deficiency which Indians suffer in the eyes of men who can look no further than a constitution not yet 200 years old explains why most of the action on the Indian front today has little or nothing to do with civil rights.

Perhaps the reader can imagine the situation of a native people, living under a truly democratic government. Crush that government, murder its officials, move the people to alien soil, place an agent there to govern their affairs, gradually establish a European system of law and order and politics. Make him subject to state and federal legislation. Then tell him that everything is going to be all right because there is civil rights legislation that will give him "equal protection" under that law.

It should be understandable to Americans and Canadians that "their" Indians have been less than excited about that whole situation.

This is not to imply that civil rights legislation should be a universal remedy. It does imply that something is needed not now present in American legal structure and system which will address the basic problems which native nations face. In the meantime, any pats on the back that American people might give themselves that the rights of Indians are well protected will likely have a hollow sound to Indian ears.

Three examples:

A solemn treaty by the United States of America with various native peoples in what is now the State of Washington guaranteed that the Federal Government would defend the Indians' right to fish in their usual and accustomed places. Today, Indians are being arrested for pursuing that right – under state fishing laws. The intervention of the U.S. is weak and compromising. What use are civil rights to the Indians here?

The land on most reservations is commonly owned, although each family may have a portion recognized as being for their own use. Under the law, however, these lands are considered to be held in trust by the U.S. Government, as represented by the Secretary of the Interior. At the Northern Cheyenne Reservation, a tribal council several years ago authorized the Secretary of the Interior to issue exploration permits to major coal corporations – with an option to mine the coal if any was discovered. The Cheyenne people did not give the tribal council any authority to sign the leases.

Yet, under American law, the whole deal is absolutely legal. What consolation are civil rights to the people of the Northern Cheyenne Nation?

The United Nations Human Rights Code says that a person cannot be deprived of his nationality. Yet in 1924, a citizenship act made all Indians American citizens whether they wanted to be citizens or not. While that was a nice gesture for those who wanted to become citizens, for those who did not it has been a cruel imposition. At Onondaga Nation, for instance, where the Onondaga people have maintained their aboriginal government through the ages to the present day, the people do not vote in American elections and press their claim to be citizens of their own Onondaga Nation. When the American government drafts their young men of what use are the civil rights laws?

And so it goes.

To apply tribal law to the American or Canadian society would be a disaster. The European societies resident on this land have not yet developed in the ways of human beings enough tradition and custom necessary to allow each individual the freedom inherent in being alive. That is why there must be so many laws to enforce these rights. On the other hand, to apply American law to the tribal scene is equally incongruous – and destructive. An individual seeking to advance his own cause, without consideration for his people, can use the "Bill of Rights" to the detriment of the community – and even, ultimately, to the interests of his own descendants.

All other things being equal, this essay would be an appeal to allow tribal governments the right to enforce their own laws, to establish their own system of rights from the experience of the centuries. But, unfortunately, because of the intervention of the American system, many tribal councils and courts have become perverted into select elites, bent on building up their own power, and running rough-shod over their own people at the beck and call of the government and other vested interests, such as industries and religions.

Since some tribal governments have become more akin to kings and nobles than to chiefs and leaders, some sort of "Bill of Rights" has become necessary to protect their "common people".

It can only be hoped that American judges will protect the rights of the tribal peoples, collectively, against their own tribal governments and courts, without at the same time infringing upon tribal integrity, until such time as traditional national governments can be restored to good health. That is a tough tight-rope to walk, but it is necessary if Indian Nations are ever going to have true self-determination – not as defined by a Congress or a presidential administration, but as it was defined by the Creator of All Nations in the beginning.

– Rarihokwats

EDUCATION: WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO NATIVE PEOPLES?

. . . It's a question of what our young people are learning. Must they follow a white man's ways? Must we listen? Are we too honest? An Indian always tells the truth and gets hurt.

One of our Indian attorneys is saying that education is a thing to 'get the white man.' It makes you think. The President of the United States is educated and look at Watergate. Is this education?

We have elders. Our elders have their own way of living. They determine justice. If you don't listen to the justice of an Indian, you might as well leave. It's not an education where our people turn around and say, 'Why are you telling me this?' And yet white men preach to us, 'Love thy neighbor' – but you can sue him. It's a confusing thing to sit here and listen to education.

We must learn – and yet we must stand up. Must I learn the white man's way? Must I look up to the President of the United States and what he's done? Senators, attorneys, who say I can't talk but I must listen? I'm confused. What am I? What is an Indian now?

I think the Indian is just a tool to the people of the U.S. We are just a tool of how they can get federal funds, who the state can get education money for. But nobody respects an Indian anymore. I think this should be in the minds of the young people who are educating themselves. . .

– Clyde Sanchez, Governor
Acoma Pueblo, 1973

[Quoted from "The Indian Civil Rights Act – Five Years Later," a transcript of a meeting of the Indian Lawyers Association held in May, 1973.]

Listen To The Whispering Words Of Our Grandfathers And Think

(This teaching was given to us by Sakokwenonkwas, who has been a spiritual inspiration to the many people who have heard him speak as he has travelled with White Roots of Peace and on his own missions. He is a Mohawk, Bear Clan, and now sits in the council of the People of the Flint at Akwesasne.)

Sokokwenonkwas, Bear Clan Mohawk

A long time ago, before the arrival of the whiteman to our country, here lived our grandfathers and grandmothers. At that time, life was hard, but our people were happy and healthy and some say they lived to be over a hundred years old.

Well, those ancestors never really died because the life they possessed still lives in you and I, their grandchildren. It is also said that our ancestors were a holy people, and were so sacred in their day-to-day life that the Creator spoke to them and guided them in various ways. Today, we are the evidence of those very lives and the words God spoke can still be recalled, though those words are but a whisper nowadays.

One of these warnings I will attempt to write in story-form as I recall it and translate its symbols.

A long time ago, before the whiteman came, our people lived in several villages and these villages were established by clans. The means of providing a living in those times were agriculture, hunting, and fishing.

One early morning, two men set out on a hunting trip. They paddled their canoe on the river for a long distance when suddenly, a brilliant flash of light struck them in their eyes. The two men couldn't figure out what that light was. It appeared to be coming from up-river, so they hurriedly paddled their canoe to the source of the flashing bright light. There, they saw lily pads floating on the water. On top of the lily pads were two small snakes about one inch long.

One of these tiny snakes was the color of silver, and the other the color of gold.

Everytime these tiny snakes moved a certain way, the sun's rays would hit upon the bodies of the gold and silver snakes, causing a reflection.

The two men were just amazed at their discovery, and never had either of them seen anything so beautiful in their entire lives. Now the two men began to think about the small snakes. They thought that if the wind were to come up, it would cause the waves upon the river to become very big and the snakes could drown. Also, they thought if some birds flew over, they might spot the beautiful snakes and swallow them. Then they thought because the river was so wide, the snakes might not find any food and they surely would starve to death.

So it was the two men finally decided to discontinue their hunting trip and take the two beautiful snakes back home to their village. When they arrived at their village, the word was soon out that the two hunters had caught something never seen by any people of North America before. Everyone from that village gathered to see the small snakes. All the people sure thought that these snakes were the prettiest sight imaginable. The two men then built a small stockade for the small snakes. This stockade was for the snakes' protection against the wilderness.

By this time, people from neighboring villages heard the news and came to see. As days went on by, the people observed that no matter what time of day or night you looked at the two small snakes in the stockade, they never slept, but were always moving, and as the light hit upon their bodies, it would throw a sparkling light that was most beautiful. The people also observed that no matter how many insects you fed them, the snakes never had enough. Their hunger was unbelievable.

The snakes had grown to a foot or so in length by this short time. In the days following, the people would hunt larger game such as squirrels, frogs, chipmunks, but they could never catch enough to satisfy the hunger of the two snakes, which by now were several yards long, and just as silver and gold as they could be.

Again, the people had to hunt even larger game – rabbits, muskrat, and beavers, but even these could not satisfy the hunger of the gold and silver snakes. By this time, the snakes had grown about thirty feet long, and another stockade had to be built for them.

Now the people of the village had to hunt deer everyday in order to feed these two huge serpents. The serpents ate so much that the people of the village began to notice that they didn't have enough deer to feed their people.

Although the serpents grew more beautiful with their size, the people were becoming alarmed as they didn't know how much longer they could continue to feed the serpents and their people too.

One night, all the people of the village were asleep. The dawning of a new day came. The elders were busy sweeping and cleaning in and around their longhouses. The small children were already up and playing all sorts of games. The fragrance of the morning meal could be smelled in the brisk morning air. Everything was normal, until suddenly, a great noise was heard. The serpents had broken the stockade.

The screaming of small children was heard coming from the area where the serpents were kept. As the elders rushed toward the commotion to find out what was happening, they saw the serpents in a rage. The elders saw the serpents swallowing their children. They saw their children's legs kicking from the serpents mouth, and then completely swallowed.

The elders rushed to save their children. They grabbed stones, poles, and whatever they could get their hands on.

Then they began to beat upon the serpents, hoping the serpents might vomit the children up still alive. But instead, the serpents grew more angry and devoured some of the elders. The entire village was in an uproar. All the people were so scared – they didn't know what to do.

After many lives were lost, the serpents apparently decided to eat something else and they left the village and headed south into the wilderness.

Now that the serpents were gone, the people began living a routine life again, but their lives were never to be the same again. In the minds of the people, they knew that somewhere those serpents were roaming free and the fear was always there that they could return to the village anytime.

A month or so went by when some runners returned to the village. The runners reported that they had seen the gold and silver serpents towards the south. They said the serpents now were several miles long, and had attacked many of the villages to the south. The runners told the people that the deer and other such animals were becoming scarce as the serpents' hunger never ceased.

Months again went by when more runners excitedly entered the village. Again the report was that they also seen the gold and silver serpents. The serpents had destroyed many villages, and eaten many animals. The reflection from their gold and silver bodies glowed even in the darkest of nights. They had grown so that they were bigger than the highest mountain. They were so long you could not see from one end of them to the other. They were always moving and never slept. As they moved, they crushed entire forests beneath them. When they crossed a river, they indent the earth with their weight causing the river to flow in a different direction. As they pass over these rivers, they cause the rivers to become so muddy that no one can drink from them – if you were to bathe in a river where the serpents had been, you would be more dirty than before you started.

The runners went on to say that even if a mountain were in their path, the serpents would go right through the mountain and even knock them down. They said the heads of the serpents were big, and they breathe flames of fire. They said if you got too close to their heads, you would die as the breath of the serpents was too hot.

Time again passed on by. The day all the villages knew would come to pass was now encroaching steadily. From the north came the brilliant silver light – from the south came the brilliant gold light. The whole sky seemed to light up. Immediately, the people became frightened. It was the serpents coming towards the village. One man said, "Let us do this." Another man said, "No, let us do this, for it will destroy the monsters."

Just as quickly, another man stood and said, "No, I have a better idea to do away with these serpents." So now it was that the peoples' leaders began quarrelling with one another about the best way to handle the problem. Then the people began yelling at each other, even fighting one another.

. . . but the two huge serpents got closer and closer to the people of the village. The fighting and yelling of the people grew more fierce. There were people killed because of the fighting, and blood stained the mother earth. As the serpents moved in closer, the people panicked, and everyone seemed to lose hope – it appeared close to the end.

It was at this moment that the clouds darkened in the West. The whole sky soon became hazy and the day almost turned to night, but the people continued to argue and fight and it seemed they would have no end to their frustrations.

Suddenly, our Grandfathers shot a giant bolt of lightning from the West. It struck right in the midst of the confused people. It was this big lightning arrow that shocked the people back to their senses. Soon following the lightning, the Grandfather Wind blew his strong breath, causing things to be knocked over as the wind travelled in and around the longhouses and trees.

The Grandfather Wind then spoke. He spoke the words sent by the Creator and this is what the Wind said:

"My children, you have not much time to save yourselves, so you must listen carefully to what I tell you. There will be a little boy who will lead you to safety. He will tell you to prepare an arrow – and on this arrow you must have a white arrowhead. He will then tell you to make a strong bow, and only from a certain kind of tree. Then he will tell you to take a hair from a pure woman, and string the bow with the hair. When these things have been prepared, the little boy will lead you to the wooded area on top of a big hill. On the top of this hill, you people will wait with your bow and arrow. When the serpents find you there on top of the hill, they will raise their bodies on the north and south of the hill. As the serpents raise their bodies high over the hill and come down over the people with their mouths wide open, the little boy and the people will point the arrow directly at the serpents' heads and wait until . . .

This is the end of the prophecy as far as we know up to this date. That's where it ends.

Now we ask, what does this story mean? I asked the elders, and this is what they said.

The gold serpent represents the United States of America.

The silver serpent represents Great Britain and Canada.

The white arrowhead represents our chiefs and medicine people. They will lead and direct us.

The hair from the pure woman which is to string the bow represents our clan mothers. They are to be real mothers again.

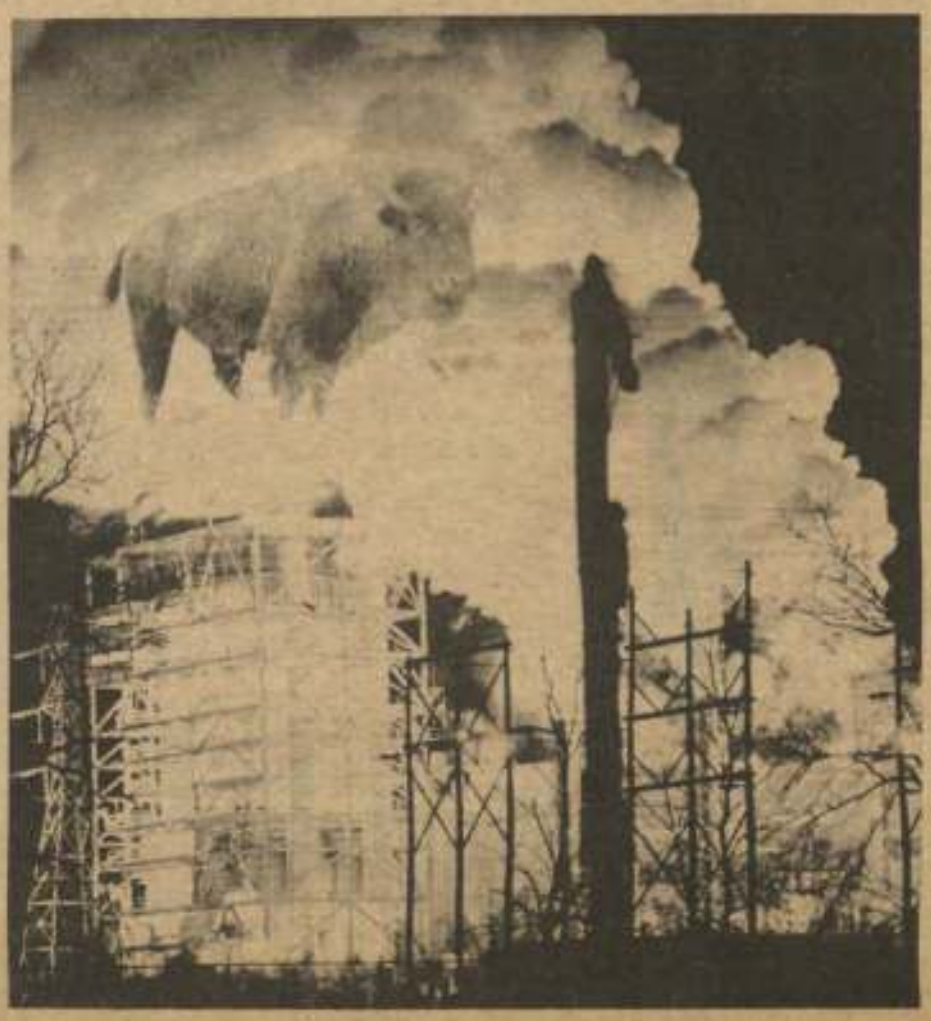
The bow to be made from a special tree is representative of the people. Our people are special, and the people are the power.

The serpents swallowing the children represents that our children will be inside the serpents' bellies. Now let us think about it – most of our children speak the language of the serpent and no longer Mohawk, the language intended by the Creator. Even our children no longer know our ceremonies, or act according to our ways.

The serpents swallowing the elders represents that our elders will not identify with our own ceremonies, but in fact, identify themselves with the ceremonies and life of the serpents.

The serpents constant threat represents how the countries of Canada and the United States trying to make us all citizens of their countries so there will be no more Onkwehonwe (Indian Nations.)

Pointing the arrow at the heads of the serpents and waiting represents the people who must get ready and prepare themselves by purifying spiritually and then the Creator will instruct those of us who do this what we must do in the future. They say Senkwaiatison (God) the Creator will talk again to us, perhaps as the Grandfather Wind did back then.



They said the people will see the tracks of the serpents, and they will become frightened and will begin to understand what is meant. This is all . . .

They said, "Sometime in the future, the children will raise up the sacred Indian ways again."

* * * * * * * *

Now I would like to make some comments as I have travelled since 1965 all over North America. As I travelled, I can surely say I have seen the tracks the serpents left behind. They are still making new tracks every day.

I have seen the rivers made dirty and undrinkable and I know the serpents have been there.

I have followed the serpents' tracks from the eastern seaboard and I have seen grasslands, forests, and even mountains knocked down – I know the serpents have been there.

Clear to the Rocky Mountains and further beyond, I have seen strip mining where now nothing will grow – I know the serpents have been there.

I have felt the hot poisonous breath from the serpents' heads in New York City, Chicago, and Los Angeles – I know the serpents have been there.

I have been to the countries of the Sioux, Cheyenne, Pomo and Hopi, all of whom were great nations, but today are only reservations – and I know the serpents have been there.

Brethren, I ask you to listen to the whispering words of our grandfathers and think.

This is all.

– Sakokwenonkwas

Copyright 1974 by Sakokwenonkwas.

NEWEST SIX NATION MUSEUM MONUMENT PROJECT NEARING COMPLETION

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

He came quietly in the dawn of history. Here, long centuries before the white man sought his freedom on these shores, he built his own creed. He believed first in the rights of the individual-- and in his great dignity-- and he believed with a passion in the freedom of all things. It is indeed strange that here, upon this sprawling continent we so proudly call the birth place of freedom, there should stand no great memorial to that first citizen of liberty—

THE AMERICAN INDIAN

In memory of our beloved Brother, Rastewenserontah (Peter P. Diome) faithful friend and defender of the treaty rights of the Six Nations. God bless you, Rastewenserontah, for your great work.

front of monument (above)
back of monument (at right)

TO AMERICA'S OLDEST ALLY THE IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY "PEOPLE OF THE LONG HOUSE"

Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, Senecas – to whom were later added the Tuscaroras, constituting THE SIX NATIONS. Founded by Deganawidah and Hiawatha who planted the Tree of Peace at Onondaga (Syracuse) some time before the coming of Columbus. They excelled in statesmanship and the art of diplomacy. After the white man came, during more than a century of intercolonial strife; they loyally protected the infant English colonies, showed them the way to union, and so helped prepare the American and Canadian people for nationhood.

– photo by Rokwaho

Ray and Christine Fadden, Akwesasne Mohawks

Over the years, Ray Fadden, owner of the Six Nations Museum, has erected monuments at sites of historical or other importance, commemorating people who have worked for the causes of native peoples, and to those who have gone before.

At the left are the texts for the two sides of a monument currently being engraved for a site yet to be selected. So far, $612.24 has been collected for the work, and $487.76 more is needed. Persons who would like to contribute toward this project are invited to send funds directly to:

Monument Project
Six Nations Museum
Onchiota, New York 12968

BEAR – A TOTEM DANCE AS SEEN BY RAVEN

(for Ranoies)

The black bear does a strange and shuffling dance
foot to foot slowly, head back, eyes closed
like that of a man.
Beneath a loosely falling robe,
mouth sewn shut upon protruding tongue
of red-stained cedar shreddings.
Foot to foot slowly in lumbering
shadow dance
within the fog and rain of high, thick ferns,
beneath a dripping, tapping spruce,
echo of raven
morning cry of night visions unwanted.

A heavy, leaning snag it seems at first
the sound of crashing fall
suspended
between ground and lowered sky,
then swirl of fog unveils
a huge head
carved atop the pole, a silver-grey of cedar.

Gnashing of angry teeth at driftwood shore
and killer whale spews up
a wreckage
of pock-infested sailors.

Foot to foot slowly, the totem dance continues,
sky to earth the leaning weight
of pole
and people and bear
and now the drum,
rectangular and fringed with clacking claws.
A chant begins of deep-voiced rumbling,
of the black slate carved
into bowls now broken
with fragments scattered in despair
of a death not prophesied.

Great cedar poles in moist earth,
these dwellings speak with dark passages,
(the rib of a tribe is a brittle section
of a dugout
or what is left
of a stolen house post,
vast heritage dragged
into strange museums)

and still, and forever, foot to foot slowly
the strange and shuffling dance continues.
And day after day the mourning chants
and keening voices silence all else
as dugouts
with quiet paddles
convey the dead to sacred islands
in endless procession.

And soil seeps thru roof cracks to fill
the huge and silent dwellings.
And totems lean from which
great eyes
gaze either up to sky or down to earth.
And the death of a village is a great sorrow,
and the pain of the survivors
is a great anguish
never to heal.

Slowly and gently
foot to foot balanced
and awkward in beauty
the child dances.
And grandfather taps,
delicately taps
the drum and his voice is very, very low,
and the song is a promise
given a people
in the ancient days of tomorrow.

And grandmother's stiff
and swollen fingers
weave cedar and fern and spruce,
and occasionally
in a far away closeness
her eyes seek the dancing child.

The bear pauses in his quest for food
to stand and sniff the air
then in a dream like a fasting
he begins
to shuffle
foot to foot slowly
as the dance continues.

– blue cloud

THE DRUM

The drum is sacred
for it has life
for life is a circle
for you were nothing
then you were born
you grew into adulthood
then back to whence you came

The drum is sacred
for it has the four seasons
the flowers of Spring
the greens of Summer
the colours of Autumn
the snow of Winter

The drum is sacred
for it has the four directions
first where the thunder beings live
second where the giants live
third where the sun continually shines
fourth where you are always faced

The drum is sacred
for it has the four winds
the wind of the thunder beings
the wind of the giants
the wind of the sun
the wind of where you always face

The drum is sacred
for it has everything
and everywhere
for the drum is the centre of the circle.

THE DRUM IS SACRED!

– John Keeshig
of the Ojibwa Nation

a child of time, naked and weeping
walked one night in my dreamless sleep
she came to claim my word of honor
the promise she heard me make to keep
her voice, when she spoke
was the sound of the wind
first howling, then moaning and sighing
the sound of a storm without end

she knew of my early mourning visit
to the museum of Indian dead
where i had stared at her small torn gown
of leather and beads, all stained with red
blood should mean something more than this
blood flows and lives and gives again
but here, only dead rust patterns surrounding
a bullet hole where her belly had been

to most it was merely a dress on display
placed next to the ancient Navajo loom
lighted and indexed for all the curious
patrons of this bone-chilling public tomb
this dress of dried blood does not belong here
it should have been taken and secretly burned
and now, with the dawn, her voice on the wind
"I'll walk this way til my spirit's returned."

hush now, my pretty, there's work to be done
sleep on the earth, i'll give your heart ease
your name will be claimed, now quiet the storm
and come to me next as a soft, gentle breeze

– susan shown

SMOKE ON THE HORIZON

My brother, Alive, and me
Went walking on the prairie
to catch his bag-of-bones horse
before he became too wild
We joked about young girls
and how shyly they smiled
how many horses this one
or that one would be worth
then we saw a dark cloud
on the edge of mother earth
Smoke signals?
Quickly we fell to our stomachs
Floating ghostly toward us
like earthbound clouds
was a small herd of antelope
Fleeing from a tumbleweed
or the smell of a distant
prairie fire they disappeared
behind the rolling hills
and then suddenly stopped
a short distance from us
I was carrying our 30/30
but was so wondering
at their graceful beauty
that Alive had to nudge me
One good shot and they'd be gone . . .
I squeezed the trigger
and felt somehow happy to see
dirt fly up in front of them
All were gone
between the blinking of an eye
all except one, the leader
He stood and stared at us
daring us to take another shot
but between us passed the thought
to let this wild, free thing live
so he turned and slowly loped away
(Both secretly glad to have missed)
we tried to cover our feelings
by making excuses
we had to catch a horse
our knives were too dull
we had enough meat already

"My heart is red and sweet
and I know that it is sweet
for whatever passes near me
sticks its tongue out to me."

– Sitting Bull
&
Chaske Pretty Voice Hawk

i thought all my flutes were dead

i wondered of all the birds, what trickster
climbed the trees & one by one
stole their songs

i wondered, did he also come to me
in a tossing sleep to cheat me of
my smiles & laughter

i sought the river, as impatience
grew on me like thorns
& at the river was the Medicine
i sought . . . the mirror

you, you down there, i thought
she loved me . . . what am i to do
where am i to go . . . show me glory
i am lonely

& a gentle laugh surged up from
the river, breaking the water,
every ripple making the laughter
linger & echo

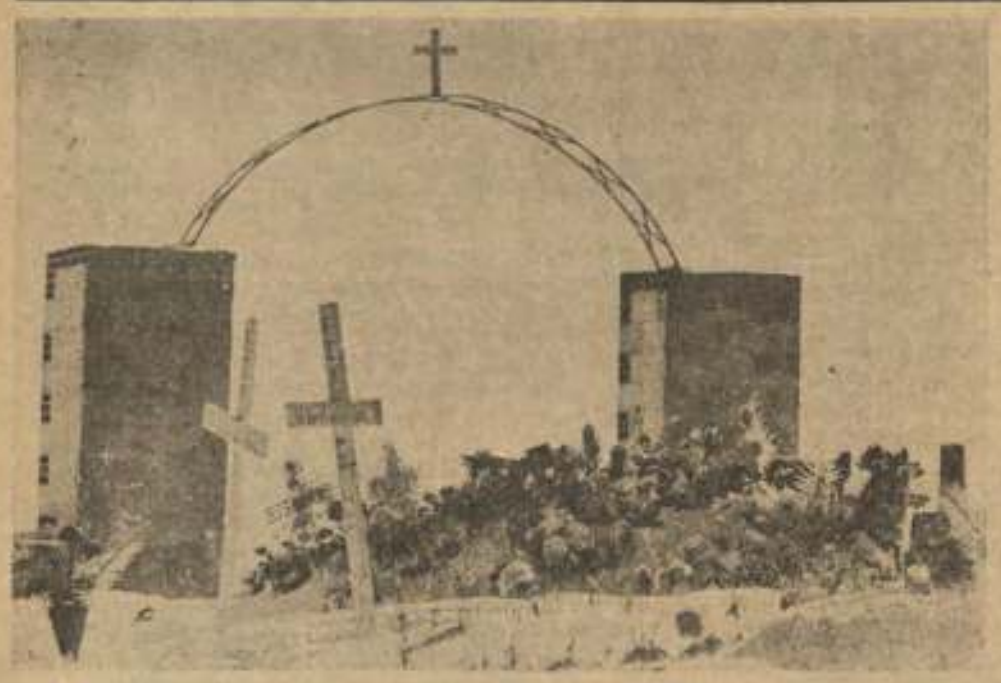
you, you up there, you say lonely?
i say loneliness is meant for the
unloving, not the unloved . . . you say
you 'thought' she loved you – i say
you think too much; what put that
thought in your head but her own
love & caring? go back ask magpie
seek magpie . . . she loves you

& magpie winged upstream, joining
in the fading laughter. i followed
magpie to a stand of cedar . . .

with a new carved flute, i return
the birds sing now
for me
for my love

– Karoniaktatie

WOUNDED KNEE...
....Further Chronicles



On the first anniversary of the occupation of Wounded Knee on February 27, a quiet vigil of about 300 people gathered at the site near the mass grave where several hundred Lakotas massacred in 1890 by U.S. Cavalrymen are buried.

About two-thirds of those who came were older Oglala reservation residents, and the rest were younger and some from other areas. Other remembrances were held throughout the nation.

There was some speaking, remembrances of Frank Clearwater, Buddy Lamont and Pedro Bissonette, who died during the occupation or later. The AIM song was sung, and BIA police cars cruised in the area. When the memorial was ended, cars carrying participants went to Porcupine for a feast.

"With a year gone by since the occupation of Wounded Knee began, peace still has not come to Pine Ridge. Those who hoped Wounded Knee would focus attention on the dire problems there know better now – there is no substantial change, and no real help is available."

Rather, schools may have to close because of financial shortages. 76 Sioux youths who qualify for college scholarships probably won't go because funds aren't coming through. Unemployment is at 72% and will probably get worse. 65% of the Oglalas are on relief or federal and state welfare allowances.

Wounded Knee village never was too much anyway as far as buildings go. Now the twisted girders of the burnt trading post still lie along the road, and the home of the Church of God pastor is just a few charred timbers. The Catholic Church near the mass grave went up in flames July 3 – the Jesuits say it was pro-AIM youths who touched off the fire, AIM people say the government was embarrassed at all the bullet holes in the church walls shot by federal guns. The ruins are still tourist bait, perhaps even more so than the original structures.

White parachutes from flares fired by the federal marshals still hang in trees along Wounded Knee Creek. Grass is starting to grow again on the thousands of acres of pasture scorched in blazes started by the flares, but it will be a few years before it grows back as thickly as before.

A few hundred yards to the north of the mass grave, on another point of the same ridge, a small partially burned Presbyterian Church threatens to tumble into the bunker which was dug below it.

And hidden beneath it all is the factionalism in the community.

"It's frightening to think you can't go around at night for fear of being shoved around and beaten up," Rose Good Medicine said. She is 71 years old. "I think it's primarily a conflict between half-breeds and full-bloods and I think it's the president (Wilson) who is keeping them on different sides. We need to get along like we used to." She stayed in Wounded Knee throughout the occupation, sometimes with as many as 40 people eating in her home. "We stayed in the basement a lot for protection," she recalls. "I don't care if they come back here and celebrate," she added referring to the anniversary vigil. "They were able to hold out for 71 days and make their wants known."

There are no signs of the bunkers which both sides dug – government bulldozers covered them in the day the occupation ended as if to hide away reminders of its military response to the grievances of the Lakotas. The homes clustered around the trading post still stand, but windows have been broken and interiors are strewn with broken glass and rubble. One home was used as a first-aid station, and the words, "Bleeding always stops if you press on it hard enough" still are written on a bare wall.

Northwest of the hilltop where Sacred Heart Church stood are 25 new, single-family houses that look like a cheap suburban housing development. The close grouping of new houses seems incongruous with the barren terrain that dips and rolls in all directions. The housing project is occupied mainly by newcomers to Wounded Knee, many gathered in from homesites to clear the land for ranchers.

* * * * * * * *

In February, 1973, it was the stabbing death of Wesley Bad Heart Bull at the hands of a white businessman in Buffalo Gap, South Dakota, which drew AIM forces into the area of Wounded Knee.

On February 18, 1974, his brother, Verlyn Dale Bad Heart Bull, was fatally shot in Allen, Nebraska, where he was a construction worker. The owner of the house where he was staying was held for questioning.

* * * * * * * *

PINE RIDGE FINANCIAL RECORDS SO BAD AUDITORS CAN'T PROVE MISCONDUCT

A Minneapolis accounting team has concluded that records of the Bureau of Indian Affairs and of the tribal government at Pine Ridge are in such bad shape that it is impossible to determine whether there has been embezzlement, mismanagement, or breech of trust responsibilities.

The study by Touche Ross and Co. was commissioned by the U.S. Department of Interior after Oglala Civil Rights Organization members and the American Indian Movement leveled charges of corruption during the occupation and seige of Wounded Knee.

The firm criticized both the BIA and the tribal government for the absence of accurate records and effective tribal management. But it added that the lack of information prevented investigators from determining whether the charges were true.

The firm said significant weaknesses have existed for some time in tribal financial controls, and were inherited by the present administration. Records were inaccurate, nonexistent, bank accounts unreconciled, ledgers misplaced and records unfiled.

The auditors said the tribal government is both ineffective and inefficient regardless of who is in office, which substantiated the demand from Wounded Knee that the whole system had to be changed. The report said long-standing factional divisions, the lack of adequately trained tribal personnel, and the absence of explicit goals were some of the reasons for the bad management.

Within the federal BIA budget, the firm said, when budget cuts were necessary in 1973, it was the schools which took a disproportionate share of the decrease. And while it is true that money is available under BIA social service projects, adequate programs are not available to handle funding – there are only three social workers on the reservation to handle the projects, despite massive social disorganization.

Vested interests in keeping their jobs has hurt tribal interests as well. The BIA has never had or tried to develop a consistent policy toward reservation Indians, the firm said. "It would seem that almost any consistently followed policy would lead to eventual elimination of either the tribal government, the BIA or both. Obviously, this poses some problems of motivation," the report said.

To remedy the situation, Leo Vocu, the tribal council's federal revenue-sharing coordinator, has said that $88,968 out of $137,968 total funds will be spent on "fiscal administration." The council, he explains, passed a resolution creating a financial accounting office, which will have an accounting board of directors, an administrative manager, a controller, and a programs coordinator.

* * * * * * * *

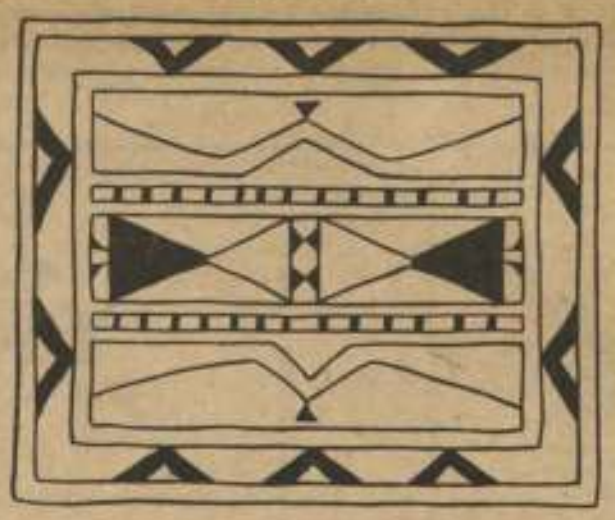
BILL TO PAY "INNOCENT VICTIMS" OF WOUNDED KNEE LOSES IN CONGRESS

The House of Representatives killed an amendment to compensate innocent victims for uninsured losses due to the Wounded Knee occupation in a move December 21. The amendment, sponsored by Senator George McGovern, had passed the Senate without objection earlier.

The amendment was in a flood disaster insurance bill, and it was stricken because of opposition from the White House and some Congressmen.

But the National Park Service, by administrative allocation, is spending $113,790 for "historic preservation" at the Custer County courthouse which suffered a fire during an AIM confrontation just before the occupation at Wounded Knee. Some of that money will also be spent at Wounded Knee itself.

* * * * * * * *



A grand jury inquiry into the shooting of Pedro Bissonette reopened February 18 in Deadwood, South Dakota, after WKLDOC complained an earlier inquiry had been inadequate. Mark Lane, WKLDOC attorney, called a list of 17 witnesses to get a full story of the shooting and subsequent camouflage by the U.S.

Bissonette was shot October 17 by BIA police who said they were attempting to serve a fugitive warrant. An extensive investigation by WKLDOC cast serious doubt on the government account of his death. The grand jury heard testimony concerning Joe Clifford, the BIA police officer who actually killed Pedro, and who had earlier threatened to "get him". Victims of merciless assaults by Clifford gave evidence. (Clifford is no longer a BIA policeman – not because of shooting Bissonette, but because he made the mistake of hassling a Catholic priest, and then assaulting the BIA policeman who questioned him in the matter. He resigned on the day he was to be fired from the force.)

Other witnesses wove the story of how Pedro was hunted down, and how his body was stolen from the hospital without permission of the family and with the cooperation of the police. Two nurses from the Pine Ridge hospital testified that a Mrs. Kirk, the wife of a white farmer, had the morgue key, and personally removed the body, which was taken to Gordon, Nebraska, for a clandestine pre-dawn autopsy despite assurance from U.S. Attorney Clayton – now heading the prosecution at St. Paul – that the body would not be moved. The grand jury has recessed awaiting further facts from the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice.

Pine Ridge Election: Was It A Fair Fight?

Pine Ridge, South Dakota – Dick Wilson is still tribal council chairman on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

The highly-controversial election gave him a narrow victory of 1730 to 1530 over Russell Means, a leader in the American Indian Movement. Wilson became the first tribal council chairman since the BIA set up elections in 1934, to be elected to two consecutive terms.

One would have expected from the primary elections held January 22nd that Russell Means would have won. In that election, he led a field of 12 candidates, with Wilson coming in second. The third runner-up was Gerald One Feather, who campaigned hard to have his supporters vote for Means in the finals which were held February 7.

Both Wilson and the Federal Government had claimed that Means and the American Indian Movement had little support in the occupation of Wounded Knee – just a handful, it was said. But even in his loss, Means indicated that there was wide-spread grassroots support. The final outcome also indicates how highly polarized the reservation is, for the men are bitter enemies as a result of Wilson's hard-nosed attitude toward his people.

Means charged the election was "illegal and an incredible travesty of justice." Among the irregularities, he said were:

– In Wanblee, white ranchers and their wives voted.

– In Potato Creek, 83 votes were cast although there are only about 32 voters who signed registration cards.

– In Martin, Tote Richards, a member of Wilson's goon squad and a poll watcher, took ballots house-to-house to have them signed and brought them back to the polling place. He also broke into the ballot box before the election was over.

– In Kyle, Judge Two Crows took blank ballots and went house-to-house collecting votes. This solicitation was endorsed by the election-board chairman, David Brewer, also a Wilson appointee.

– Three women (who have signed affidavits to the effect) received money from Wilson to vote for him, including Agnes Bear Robe, who is not from the Pine Ridge Reservation.

"There was shooting going on all over the reservation the night of the election," said one woman activist here. "It was just like the night Pedro was killed."

(Pedro Bissonette was one of the seven originally charged in what the government called the "leadership" cases coming out of Wounded Knee – he was killed by BIA police October 17.)

Even before the primary, two Means campaign workers were assaulted for advocating his candidacy. Known AIM sympathizers were run off the road on their way to voting by BIA police. There were incidents of shooting in Manderson and in Wounded Knee on election day. Two investigators from the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee (WKLDOC) were assaulted by Federal marshals when they tried to find out what happened in one shooting incident.

BIA police refused to allow independent observers or media people onto the reservation to monitor the elections.

Means has asked the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights and the Community Relations Service of the Justice Department to come in to conduct an investigation of the election.

At least eight families who are known as AIM supporters have been threatened with having their houses firebombed and shot at. Leaflets have been distributed, allegedly by Wilson, saying that the 1500 people who voted for Russell Means have three days to get off the reservation.

Milo Goings, one of the Wounded Knee defendants, had his rear windshield shot out and the side of his car sprayed with bullets from a high-powered rifle. Goings was in the car at the time, and later was arrested for the shooting of Harold Weasel Bear, a little boy whose head was grazed with a bullet. Another man – Richard Janis – is also charged with the same shooting, and yet he and Goings had not seen each other that night.

Two other AIM supporters have been beaten up since the election. Poker Joe Merrival, son of tribal lawyer Ethel Merrival, was stabbed the Saturday after the election.

As the *New York Times* put it, "White ranchers and merchants in northwest Nebraska, the major trading area of the Oglala Sioux, were overjoyed by Wilson's election. 'We had no idea what to expect if Russell Means got in,' said a Rushville, Nebraska, motel operator."

Means noted that he had not campaigned at all, that he hadn't resorted to mud-slinging and dirty politics, and still received 48% of the votes.

"I did not have the stock growers' money. I did not have the money of the John Birch Society. I had my people. AIM has proven a point – 1500 people have said, 'AIM is not outsiders.' "

Wilson had told the press the night before the election that if he won, he would personally run Russell Means off the reservation. In Manderson, BIA policeman Lee Weston is alleged to have told people he would run all AIM members and sympathizers off the reservation.

Wilson was critical about the adjournment Judge Fred Nichol had granted in his St. Paul courtroom so that Means could return to the reservation to vote, or as Wilson put it, "so an AIM leader can campaign against the established representative government of our tribe." Nichol had granted the recess reluctantly when Means had been unable to obtain an absentee ballot.

Wilson inserted quarter-page advertisements in area newspapers asking for a big turnout at the election, and for voter support. "As everybody knows," he said, "I have supported Tribal Government and our tribal constitution against the armed revolutionaries who invaded our reservation and destroyed property and denied our entire tribe our Civil Rights, while using our historic Wounded Knee to draw attention to their selfish, greedy, and destructive acts."

There were leaflets taken around too. One by Means promised checkpoints would be established on all roads to keep liquor from coming into the reservation, and said new tribal offices would be built in Wounded Knee, which is more central on the reservation than Pine Ridge, and which is some distance from the BIA offices. Means promised free health clinics would be established in the districts, that mini-buses would be provided to district councils to transport their people, that the tribal council would meet weekly and an honest independent audit would be done on tribal books and programs.

In addition, Means' platform was to encourage all-Oglala farming co-ops, and to regain land held by white ranchers so a tribal herd and meat-packing operation could begin. He promised community control by having district council representatives vote as their people wished. He said the sacred religion given to the Lakota would be reinstituted. In addition, Means promised he would work towards restoring land taken during World War II for a gunnery range, gathering assistance from such countries as Sweden, Japan, and West Germany, and, of course, recognition of the 1868 Sioux/U.S. treaty, by the U.S. and by the United Nations.

Lakota MEANS Together

RUSSELL MEANS, IF ELECTED, WILL DO THE FOLLOWING:

ESTABLISH CHECKPOINTS ON ALL ROADS LEADING INTO THE PINE RIDGE RESERVATION WHICH WILL SEARCH EVERY CAR ENTERING THE RESERVATION IN ORDER TO STOP ALL LIQUOR FROM COMING INTO THE RESERVATION.

MOVE THE TRIBAL OFFICES TO THE OLD PORCUPINE DAY SCHOOL IMMEDIATELY AND PLAN FOR PERMANENT OFFICES IN WOUNDED KNEE. AN INDIAN ARCHITECT FROM DETROIT, MICHIGAN HAS COMMITTED HIMSELF TO DESIGN AND SUPERVISE THE BUILDING OF NEW TRIBAL OFFICES AT NO COST.

ESTABLISH A FREE HEALTH CLINIC IN PORCUPINE IMMEDIATELY WITH PLANS TO ESTABLISH A FREE HEALTH CLINIC IN EACH DISTRICT.

SECURE 16 MINI-BUSES, ONE FOR EACH DISTRICT COUNCIL, SIX TO BE USED IN A RESERVATION-WIDE TRANSIT SYSTEM TO TRANSPORT PEOPLE TO THE TRIBAL OFFICES AND THE BIA, AND TWO TO BE USED TO TRANSPORT OGLALA PEOPLE TO AND FROM RAPID CITY.

RECOGNITION OF THE 1868 SIOUX TREATY BY THE WHITE HOUSE, SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND THE UNITED NATIONS.

RETURN OF THE GUNNERY RANGE TO THE OGLALA.

GATHER SUPPORT FROM FOREIGN COUNTRIES SUCH AS SWEDEN, JAPAN, WEST GERMANY AND OTHERS.

HAVE AN HONEST INDEPENDENT AUDIT OF ALL PROGRAMS AND THE TRIBAL BOOKS.

A TRIBAL COUNCIL THAT WILL MEET ALMOST EVERY WEEK.

ESTABLISH COMMUNITY CONTROL BY RETURNING THE POWER TO THE DISTRICT COUNCILS. TRIBAL COUNCILMEN AND WOMEN HAVE TO VOTE ACCORDING TO THE WISHES OF THEIR DISTRICT COUNCILS.

RETURN OGLALA LAND ON THE RESERVATION TO THE OGLALA PEOPLE IN ORDER TO USE OUR OWN LAND TO BUILD A LARGE ENOUGH TRIBAL HERD SO WE CAN BUILD A SLAUGHTER HOUSE AND MEAT PACKING PLANT.

REINSTITUTION OF OUR SACRED RELIGION GIVEN TO THE LAKOTA.

ESTABLISHMENT OF ALL-OGLALA FARMING CO-OPS.

RETURN CRIMINAL JURISDICTION IN BENNETT COUNTY BACK TO THE PINE RIDGE RESERVATION.

RETURN OF PRIDE TO THE OGLALA

RETURN OF HOPE TO THE OGLALA

RETURN OF INDEPENDENCE TO THE OGLALA

RETURN OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE OGLALA

ho-ka hey

today is a good day to live!

"Lakota Means Together" – Russell Means campaign leaflet

With RUSSELL MEANS as President,

You Will LOSE:

1. Doctor Care for you and your children!
2. Education for your children!
3. Lease money from your lands!
4. Aid to Dependent Children!
5. Food Commodities that you desperately need!
6. Representation on the Tribal Council!
7. Protections and rights of the Tribal Constitution

Russell Means Says . . .

". . . If I become president . . . we'll take the first steps to overthrow the United States of America's influence from within our land."

* * *

". . . When I become president, I will abolish that office, I will abolish the Tribal Council, the Tribal Constitution, the Indian Reorganization Act, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, the white ranchers and the white farmers of the Pine Ridge Reservation."

—At University of Minnesota, October 22, 1973

IF RUSSELL MEANS, as President . . .
abolishes the PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE,
There will be NO DOCTORS for you and your children!

IF RUSSELL MEANS abolishes . . .
the BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS,
There will be NO EDUCATION for your children!

IF RUSSELL MEANS . . .
gets rid of the RANCHERS and FARMERS,
There will be NO LEASE MONEY for you!

IF RUSSELL MEANS abolishes . . .
the UNITED STATES INFLUENCE,
There will be NO ADC CHECKS for mothers and children!

IF RUSSELL MEANS abolishes . . .
the UNITED STATES INFLUENCE,
There will be NO FOOD COMMODITIES for you and your children!

IF RUSSELL MEANS abolishes . . .
the TRIBAL COUNCIL,
There will be NO REPRESENTATIVES to protect your rights!

IF RUSSELL MEANS abolishes . . .
the TRIBAL CONSTITUTION,
There will be NO RIGHTS AND PROTECTIONS left for you!

When You Vote February 7
REMEMBER what Russell Means has said he will do

This Means

State Jurisdiction and Termination

"You Will Lose" – Dick Wilson campaign leaflet

(continued on next page)

For his part, a pro-Wilson leaflet was issued saying that if Means were elected, there would be no more surplus foods, ADC checks, no medical care, etc. (see leaflet on previous page.)

The WKLDOC had taken a suit to federal court to get 18-year-old voters permitted to vote – the election is under federal control, and thus the new constitutional amendment should apply, they argued. However, Judge Andrew Bogue, whose anti-AIM feelings are now almost legendary, delayed his decision until after the election was over. Observers agree that most of the younger voters would have been for Means.

Bogue did give an order that the ballots be impounded so that a recount or investigation could be held – if that action was ordered.

Wilson has said the federal courts do not have jurisdiction over tribal elections – only the election board he appointed has that power, he says. He said that no complaints at all had been filed with the election board regarding irregularities.

– Shannon County News
Dick Wilson . . . the winner?

However, all the difficulty could have been eliminated if AIM requests for outside observers had been honored. In the primary, a few observers were allowed, and the report was that there were 536 more votes cast than there were people who signed the voter registration lists.

There is the suspicion that most of these votes were for Wilson, for immediately after the election, the voter registration lists apparently were burned before the losers were able to challenge the results of the primary.

The National Council of Churches had agreed to provide 40 outside, independent, neutral observers – but Commissioner of Indian Affairs Morris Thompson would not intervene to allow their presence.

BIA commissioner Thompson said, however, that "based on our present information, there does not appear to be sufficient evidence of voting fraud or irregularity to warrant federal intervention at this time."

Wilson's margin came almost entirely from votes in Pine Ridge Village, where he had a 520-318 lead. Pine Ridge is the residence of many tribal and BIA employees. In the districts, it was another story. Red Cloud, Wolf Creek, Batesland, Wakpamni-Lake, Community 4, Calico, Our Lady of the Sun, Wanblee, Porcupine all were led by Means – plus, significantly, Wounded Knee, which voted 81-39 for Means.

New council members include: Pine Ridge Village – Bennett Tuffy Sierra, Vincent Brewer, Arta Carlow, Frank "Posie" Ecoffey, and Thomas Conroy, Jr.; Wakpamni – Marvin Ghost Bear, Morris Wounded, David Two Lance; Eagle Nest – Jake Little Thunder, Jacob Yellow Hawk; Medicine Root – Matt Eagle Heart, Sylvester "Sog" Janis; White Clay – Frank Starr, Florence Ten Fingers; LaCreek – Newton Cummings; Porcupine – Paul Iron Cloud, Severt Young Bear; Pass Creek – Vincent Thunder Bull.

Joe American Horse defeated Dave Long by a 2-1 margin for tribal vice-president. The council is generally sympathetic to Wilson.

Wilson declared a tribal holiday, sending a lot of school children back home to bewildered parents. After a big beer party at the moccasin factory, Wilson headed for Rapid City with friends to celebrate his victory there.

He parted with a philosophical reminder that his victory was proof that working through the system worked. "This has been an historic occasion," he said. "We have been under the scrutiny of the entire world." He added that the victory was a weather vane for the world, whether people would endorse government by violence, or threat, or whether "we would pursue progress thru our imperfect system of democracy."

Editorials & Commentary

A BETTER LIFE FOR INDIANS

One year ago, front pages throughout the nation were carrying stories of the American Indian Movement occupation of Wounded Knee. AIM, buoyed by bold efforts days earlier to "sensitize" Rapid City to Indian needs and desires, had occupied the historic reservation hamlet . . .

The Rapid City program of AIM was successful. Certainly there are still problems, inequities and faults on all sides. But, without bloodshed, Rapid City was "sensitized" to a new awareness of Indian complaints, and some positive programs, such as creation of the statutory Rapid City Human Relations Commission have resulted.

. . . A Wounded Knee can heal – even stronger.

(This editorial appeared in the Rapid City Journal Feb. 27.)

THE CONTINUITY OF FREEDOM

Once, one of the most ridiculous gimmicks of American bourgeois political hoopla was to have whoever was the President of the United States – or for that matter, even those who were aspiring to be President – be photographed with an American Indian Chief. The Indian Chief would be stern-faced and dignified, wearing a full-feathered headdress, with a trail of feathers down his back to his moccasins, and the real Chief of State, the President, or the hopeful one-to-be, would be a man with a sly self-satisfied smile on his face.

At that time, I could never fathom the reason for these hi-jinks, because at "that point in time" the Indians meant absolutely nothing in American politics. After more than 30 years of warfare, the West had been won for the railroad, cattle, and mining barons. An entire Nation of tribal people had been systematically destroyed by 1900. Those who survived were securely confined to reservations.

Later on, these photographs of the Indian Chief and the "Great White Father" began to symbolize for me the fact that the Indians had been so roundly defeated and so demoralized that now this politician was brave enough to be photographed with him in order to have a little sport. Symbolically, these photos were saying: "The Indians have been relegated to the past – a historical past that is over and done with."

The militant actions taken by Indians in recent years has proven the above to be untrue. The Indian today is very much part of a historical dimension. . .

The seizure of Wounded Knee, during the winter of 1973, with the American Indians holding off hundreds of U.S. marshals who attempted to retake the old trading post, proved that the Indians had not forgotten their long struggles for independence and freedom. They demonstrated that even such long discontinuity in their struggle for freedom is not fatal to the idea of freedom.

In the 1930s, the idea of a militant Indian was so out of the question that the arch-conservative columnist, Westbrook Pegler, did not find it unusual to sermonize to Black civil rights leaders "to pattern themselves after the long-suffering Indian and avoid the danger of becoming a Communist dupe"! . . .

We speak of history, but most often we are speaking of the present – and in this case, if history is meaningful, it has demonstrated that no amount of "benign neglect" which translated means absolute indifference, can destroy the idea of freedom, nor forestall the movement toward freedom.

(This view is by John Alan and appeared in News and Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Michigan.)

INDIANS IN A STRUGGLE TO REGAIN DIGNITY

. . . A group called the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee has distributed copies of a booklet on AIM and its role in the occupation [of Wounded Knee]. It quotes an AIM member on the Pine Ridge Reservation, saying the organization "is first a spiritual movement, a religious rebirth, and then a rebirth of Indian dignity."

Looking at it from the outside, I have found it hard to see this unruly bunch as the embodiment of a spiritual rebirth. Yet there is no doubt about a couple of things: the American Indian is a human being whose spirituality was once great – and he or she is also one whose dignity has been sorely tried.

Such a rebirth is needed and we whites probably should dwell more on that and less on how threatened we are by militancy. We should want the Indian to regain his dignity as soon as possible, because only then will we ever be freed of the stain left on all of us by the systematic invasion and near destruction of all the once proud Indian nations.

(This comment is by Alan Cunningham, part of a column for the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colorado, Jan. 14, 1973.)

THE VOTE IN WOUNDED KNEE

. . . The Oglala Sioux's understandable dissatisfaction with their lot would probably have turned out yet another incumbent had Mr. Wilson not been opposed by so poor a representative of Indian interests as Russell Means. It is sobering that the vote was as close as it was. If 1,500 Indians are desperate enough to vote for Russell Means, they are desperate indeed.

In view of Mr. Means' long record, culminating in armed rebellion at Wounded Knee and including threatening to sue the Cleveland Indians for racist degradation, most of us will be disposed to agree with Mr. Wilson, who said the electoral contest was between "government by violence, threat, and destruction" and "progress thru our imperfect system of democracy."

(This is the conclusion of an editorial in the Chicago Tribune February 17, 1974.)

AFTER THE OGLALA ELECTION

Regardless of the final outcome of the bitterly disputed Pine Ridge Reservation election, the time clearly has come for a full-dress investigation, with a clear determination to attack the causes. This requirement would have been as compelling if Russell Means had won an undisputed victory as it is in light of Dick Wilson's reelection as head of the Oglala Sioux tribal government.

Police actions against symptoms have failed.

The causes run far deeper than a clash of personalities – nor will Wilson's threat to run all non-Sioux AIM supporters off the reservation solve anything. For if nothing else, the election demonstrated that AIM, whatever its off-reservation support, has a substantial indigenous base.

Moreover, this is fundamentally a white man's problem, the rotten fruit of generations of cynical neglect, self-serving bureaucracy, ignorance, greed and racism. Even allowing for exaggeration, provocation, and misunderstanding, there has been harassment fostered by the policies the BIA pursues. To recognize that does not condone anyone's violence, but like black Americans, the new breed of Indian activists will no longer accept paternalistic oppression as a permanent burden. Pine Ridge and Wounded Knee are part of a larger movement based on a new perception of "sovereignty and "self-determination." AIM is a manifestation of this as well as the grinding poverty on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

On paper, BIA and the Justice Department have the power to take bold steps. In reality, there is no evidence they will. It is up to Congress now. A beginning has been made in legislation that has passed the Senate calling for an American Indian Policy Review Commission, a project of Sen. Abourezk, that envisions a body of five senators, five representatives, and five Indians.

This body, although it would look down the pike to long-term solutions, could immediately hold searching hearings on the spot as well as in Washington, where there are already piles of statistics. We would, however, welcome searching inquiries from any quarter as soon as possible.

(This editorial appeared in the Minneapolis Star February 11.)

White House Replies To Oglala 15 Questions

Washington, D.C. – The White House has informed traditional Oglala chiefs and headmen that only Congress can change or rescind treaties made with native people, and that the White House does not have the power to enter into treaty negotiations despite provisions in treaties which call for presidential action.

The reply was made by letter written January 8, signed by Leonard Garment, "assistant to the President", and includes a set of answers to the Fifteen Questions submitted by the Oglalas in November. [See last issue for complete details.]

Garment's answer was widely distributed by the FBI at the St. Paul trials in an apparent effort to quash any use of the Treaty of 1868 as a defense.

Garment's reply implies that money is the answer to the problems, not freedom, and he suggests that the Oglalas continue to pursue financial claims before the Indian Claims Commission, an agency which the U.S. set up unilaterally to make unilateral decisions about what payment should be made for prior wrongs of government actions.

That course of action has not proven to be very fruitful for the Lakota people. Between the 1920s and 1946, the Sioux filed eleven claims cases before the Court of Claims, as Garment points out, and all eleven were resolved in favor of the U.S. Government.

In 1946, the Indian Claims Commission was set up, and the Lakotas still have seven cases pending. The most recent ruling on those cases came February 14 which did not make an award, but which opened up the cases to an increasingly intricate web of further court action.

"If you have any complaints about how these suits are proceeding," Garment says, "you should contact the attorneys who have long been retained by the Oglala Sioux people [read, "tribal council"] to represent them in these lawsuits."

Garment also said that the traditional leaders were not the legitimate spokesmen for the Oglalas, since the U.S. had set up a system of determining which leaders it would acknowledge, and what powers they would have or not have.

"You are also aware, of course, that your communication to the President is not the official position of the Oglala Sioux," Garment says in what must be sarcasm. "That can only come from the elected Tribal Council and Tribal Officers of the Oglala Sioux. . . But as in any democratic society where there is contention and differing opinions, the proper court of last resort is the ballot box."

The Treaty of 1868, Garment says, is still a "valid legal document" and its obligations are still in force "except insofar as any of them have been changed by the Congress, by the parties, satisfied by litigation or expired."

"In closing, I express the hope that both you as Indian people as well as those of us working in the area of Indian affairs in the Federal Government will look ahead and not just backwards," Garment says with paternalistic liberalism. "I have no desire to defend the past two centuries of treatment of Indian peoples. In many instances, they were centuries marked by shameful conduct toward Indians by the Federal Government."

Now, Garment says, all that is over and a new era is with us.

"The President has broken with that past, and in his Message of July 8, 1970, set an agenda for the future which is a fundamentally new direction," Garment insists. "I hope you and your associates will join with us and with the principal nationwide Indian organization [he does not say, interestingly enough, which organization he considers to be the 'principal one'] in working for the achievement of that agenda."

Either unable to see that the Lakotas regard the Treaty of 1868 as the basic document governing the relationship between their people and the U.S., or perhaps afraid of that implication, Garment closes by instructing the Lakotas that "it is not enough to curse history to undo or repair historic wrongs."

"What is essential," he says, "is realistic and sustained action using the intelligence and energy of all those persons and groups in and out of government who understand the legitimacy of Indian grievances and the compelling need to act on them."

The questions submitted, and the White House reply follow:

Question 1: Does the United States of America regard the Treaty of April 29, 1868, 15 Stat. 635, ratified February 16, 1869 and proclaimed by the President of said nation on Feb. 24, 1869, as a valid legal document binding the Lakota Nation and the United States in a legal relationship?

Insofar as the 1868 Treaty has not been changed by the parties, changed by legislation [of Congress of the U.S.], satisfied by litigation, or expired, it is binding on the parties to the same extent that other treaties are binding and is a valid legal document. The extent of its modifications and of its binding effect on the parties is developed more fully below.

Question 1(c) If the United States does not regard this treaty as valid and legally binding upon it, what is the basis for the claim by the United States that it has any jurisdiction over the people of the Lakota Nation at all?

. . . Even in the absence of jurisdictions conferred by treaty, it is well established [by the United States] that the United States has general jurisdiction over Indian tribes. [Cases are cited.]

Question 2: What is the current status of the 1868 Treaty?

The obligations assumed under the 1868 Treaty remain obligatory upon the parties to the same extent that other treaty obligations are obligatory insofar as they have not been satisfied or changed.

Questions 2(a) and 2(b): What articles of this treaty does the United States regard as binding upon it? What articles of this treaty does the United States believe that it has fulfilled?

Standing alone, the questions are rather broad. Many of them, however, are answered below . . .

Question 2(c): What articles of this treaty does the United States admit having not yet fulfilled?

None, in the sense that the United States has failed either to perform or satisfy the obligations assumed. See generally Sioux Tribe v. United States, *95 Ct. Cl. 72, 81 (1941): . . . The Court concluded: "We hold that the obligations of the Treaty of 1868 have been complied with both in fact and in effect. . .*

Question 3: With respect to Article I of this treaty, we regard the dispatch of federal marshals to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation last winter as a violation of said article in that such behavior violates the provision and promise of Article I that the United States "desires peace and they now pledge their honor to maintain it." How does the United States justify its invasion of the lands of the Oglala band of the Lakota Nation by federal marshals last winter?

We are unable to see how dispatching the Federal marshals to the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation violates the United States 1868 pledge to try to maintain peace. This would appear to us to be a performance of the pledge rather than a violation thereof. One of the purposes of sending United States marshals to the reservation was to preserve the peace as promised in Article I of the treaty. . .

Question 4: With respect to Article II of said treaty, we regard the building of dams on the Missouri River as a violation of the treaty which continues until the present, in that the United States has unilaterally and unconstitutionally deprived the Lakota people of their rights to use all of said Missouri River, the totality of said river laying within the boundaries of the Lakota Nation. What position does the United States take with respect to this violation?

The descendant tribes of the ancestral Sioux groups who entered into the 1868 Treaty are presently suing the United States under the provisions of the Indian Claims Commission Act . . .

Question 5: With respect to Article III of said treaty [guaranteeing 160 acres per person of arable land "if a very considerable number of such persons shall be disposed to commence cultivating the soil as farmers," even if that meant enlarging the reservation] . . Does the United States maintain that it has fulfilled this article of the treaty? If so when? And how?

It appears that not "a very considerable number" of Sioux were "disposed to commence cultivating the soil as farmers" in the years following the 1868 Treaty. In fact, very few were. [Cases cited.] Accordingly, in the absence of a specific showing to the contrary, the United States maintains that it has fulfilled Article 3 of the Treaty.

Question 6: With respect to Article V of the treaty, we maintain that the United States has failed to enforce the provisions of this article to the benefit of the Lakota people and that far from keeping the agent's office open to investigate cases of depredation on person and property, the agent and his successor the superintendent have aided and abetted such depredations and that their actions led directly to the confrontation at Wounded Knee. If the United States feels that it has performed its duties under this article in good faith, can it list its efforts to perform its duties and their results?

Since the signing of the treaty and the establishment of the original agency, the Sioux people have continuously had a resident agent. With the subsequent establishment of separate agencies for the Sioux groups, each has had its own agent (superintendent). . . . The Pine Ridge agency alone – for the Oglala Sioux – is staffed by some 400 employees, far more than anticipated by the treaty.

All these agencies are administering programs for the benefit of the Sioux people considerably in excess of what is called for unter the treaty. The grand total made available through the BIA during 1973 to carry out programs for the benefit of those Sioux people whose ancestors signed the 1868 Treaty, and to maintain the agencies, was approximately $28-million.

. . . Federal agencies other than the Indian Bureau are programming funds equal to if not surpassing those expended by the Bureau. We contend, therefore, that the Government has complied with its responsibility that its agent faithfully discharged the duties enjoined on him by law.

The respective agencies are open to all Sioux people. Many complaints have been received and are acted upon daily. With respect to "depredation claims," either by or against Indians, our records do not disclose that any such claims have been filed under the Treaty of 1868 . . .

If by "depredations," Chief Foolscrow means the allegations which he and his associates have raised concerning recent civil rights violations, the actions of the United States have been diligent and full. Some fifty complaints were brought to the Government's attention. The Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and the Federal Bureau of Investigation investigated all of them. They interviewed over 170 witnesses. None of these investigations has yet turned up anything substantial enough to give the United States a prosecutable case. If by "depredations" Chief Foolscrow means allegations about funds being misused by the Oglala Tribal Council or by the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Pine Ridge, the United States again responded promptly last Spring and contracted for an outside firm (Touche, Ross) to do a complete audit in both places. The results of the audit reveal that although there has been some sloppy bookkeeping for years by both government and Indian offices, there was no basis for criminal charges in either place.

Question 7: With respect to Article VI of the treaty, we maintain that the procedures described in this article were the ONLY means open to either the Lakota people or the United States to allot the lands of the Lakotas. We maintain that the United States, in fraudulently allotting the lands of the Lakotas [through subsequent legislation causing great losses of land] has violated this article of the treaty. Does the United States claim that it has either fulfilled or followed the procedures described in this article in making allotments of the lands of the Lakota? If so, how?

[It appears that the U.S. misunderstood or deliberately did not answer the question fully.] Since the record shows that but a relatively few Sioux were inclined to farm following the 1868 Treaty, it appears that the benefits of this sixth article were utilized by the Sioux only to a minor degree. [Cases cited.] . . . We submit that the United States fulfilled the obligations of Article 6 . . .

Question 8: With respect to Article VII of the treaty, we maintain that this article provides for a special and ongoing educational program for the Lakota people. We maintain that the United States has not fulfilled the provisions of the article and remains liable to the Lakota people in the field of education. Does the United States maintain that is has fulfilled this article of the treaty. If so, how?

[The U.S. cites a lengthy court case indicating that it was impossible to build sufficient schools, etc., because of "unsettled" conditons, and that further, the provisions of the section expired after 40 years.] . . . Yes, the United States has fulfilled its obligation under Article 7 of the 1868 Treaty . . .Nonetheless, the Bureau of Indian Affairs of course continues to provide educational services to the Sioux people. On the Oglala Reservation, for instance, the Fiscal Year 1974 educational services budget totals $4.8-million and involves educational services to 2,907 Oglala children and 155 adults from pre-school to college scholarships and adult training . . .

Question 9: With respect to Article VIII of this treaty, we demand an accounting of the fulfillment by the U.S. of the provisions of this treaty. [Calls for seeds and agricultural implements to aid in farming.]

[Claims court case cited.] The Court . . . went on to show that there was very little demand for seeds and agricultural implements at that time. [A total of $13,529.46 was actually expended by the U.S. for a ten-year period before the plan was abandoned.]

Question 10: With respect to Article X of this treaty, we demand an accounting of the fulfillment by the United States of the provisions of this treaty. [Calls for the U.S. to provide meat and flour and cows and oxen, since, confined to the reservation, the Lakota would require a period of time before they could develop an economy to replace the buffalo.]

[Claims court case cited, concluding that the $126,000 spent between 1870 and 1880 was adequate for those who were making efforts to be self-sustaining, and that it wasn't to be given to others.] . . .We believe it clear that the United States has already accounted to the Sioux under Article 10 and that no further accounting should be necessary.

Question 11: With respect to Article XI of this treaty, we declare that we, the Lakota Nation have fulfilled this provision. Does the United States maintain that is has fulfilled the provisions of this article of the treaty? If so, when? and how? [The Government was obligated to pay for roads, railways, mail-stations, and other works of utilities which might be constructed on reservation lands, with the damages set by three disinterested commissioners appointed by the President, with one commissioner to be a chief.]

. . . We assume any lands taken in connection therewith have been in accord with the legal and equitable requirements obtaining. If Messrs. Foolscrow and King [who signed the 15 questions] feel any such takings are questionable, they should identify same and set forth their reasons. . .

Question 12: With respect to article XII of this treaty, we maintain that the ratification by Congress of this treaty foreclosed the use by the United States of America ANY OTHER POSSIBLE MEANS of gaining additional land cessions from the Lakota Nation. Does the United States feel that it has fulfilled the provisions of this article of the treaty? If so, when? and how? [The article provides that no treaty for further cessions of land will be valid unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians.]

Insofar as we can presently ascertain, this provision has not been repealed and accordingly is applicable to transfers made of the Sioux reservation lands. However, the treaty provision does not bar the United States from taking such lands without consent, the same as it takes lands from non-Indian owners without their consent, i.e., under its powers of eminent domain. The treaty also does not bar Congress from taking Indian lands under its plenary powers to manage Indian affairs. [Case cited.] . . . Except for eminent domain takings or transfers made under the plenary powers of Congress, Sioux reservation lands cannot be transferred without the consent of 3/4 of the adult male Indians. [Vast quantities of land were lost to the Lakotas when it was taken by the United States.]

Question 13: With respect to Article XV of this treaty, we maintain that when the Lakota people accepted the reservation outlined in this treaty as a permanent home, such acceptance thereby foreclosed any cession of jurisdiction by the United States over the Lakota Nation. How does the United States interpret the phraseology "permanent home"?

. . . Regardless, however, of the words used to designate the permanency of the transfer, one should keep in mind that the permanency as therein stated is always subject to the United States right to take such land under its power of eminent domain or under the plenary powers of Congress, as well as subject to subsequent voluntary transfers made by the owners thereof.

Question 14: With respect to Article XVI, how does the U.S. interpret the phrase "unceded Indian territory"?

The meaning of this phrase and the rights of the tribe under it are in litigation . . . before the Indian Claims Commission. The matter is complicated and we do not feel it would be proper for us to express an opinion on the meaning of this provision at this time. The tribe is represented by competent attorneys and we feel that under the circumstances we should await the decision of the Commission before expressing any opinion.

Question 15: With respect to Article XVII of this treaty, how does the United States interpret this article insofar as it only abrogates those portions of previous treaties and agreements that obligate the United States to provide money, clothing, or other articles of property?

. . . Other provisions, to the extent they were not otherwise changed or satisfied, would continue past the 1868 Treaty.

A Look At The Lawyers

With its insistence that Wounded Knee is a criminal case and is not political, the U.S. Government also adds that it is not trying to destroy the American Indian Movement. Or so says Richard D. Hurd, first assistant U.S. Attorney from South Dakota, who heads the team of prosecutors.

Hurd also insists that Means and Banks are not being "entirely honest" in their verbal attacks on the "system", and that there is no basis in the claim that they were acting within the rights of their treaty.

Hurd is from Sturgis, South Dakota, and is 32 years old. By contrast, defense attorney William Kunstler is 54, and from Long Island, New York. Kunstler says he has been involved in "social cause" cases since 1961, when he witnessed the arrests in Jackson, Mississippi, of black people who refused to sit in the back of buses.

One case which caused him trouble was the Chicago conspiracy trial four years ago. While the defendants were eventually freed on appeal, the antics of Judge Hoffman drew Kunstler into contempt of court charges and during the beginning weeks of the Wounded Knee trial, the New York City Bar Association filed disciplinary charges against him.

Hurd is assisted by David Gienapp, an assistant U.S. attorney in Sioux Falls, their boss – William Clayton, U.S. Attorney – and by Earl Kaplan from the Justice Department in Washington. The prosecutors can easily be imagined in the role of cowboys in an old-fashioned Western.

The prosecution also contends that the defendants do not represent American Indians, and can't even speak for the balance of the American Indian Movement.

Kunstler said the atmosphere in St. Paul surrounding the trials was very different than in his experiences elsewhere. He said the people were downright friendly. He said he had been invited, along with other lawyers and Indian leaders, to a dinner given by Mayor Lawrence Cohen. "That's never happened before," he said. "I think that maybe St. Paul can point a way to something that's very important. That when these trials come, they are very much a part of the American scene and the so-called democratic process, and that instead of being hostile to people seeking to break new frontiers in civil rights and liberties, or to redress grievances, that they will welcome these people and do everything they can to make their stay comfortable and friendly and non-hostile."

Kunstler was perceived by many as the wild-eyed radical lawyer who defended those who would destroy democratic institutions. But he has been talking to groups in the heartland of suburban conservatism in the St. Paul area, and has won new respect.

He told the Minnetonka Jaycees, for instance, that confrontation may be the only way to change government, and that they should wrench themselves from their comfortable lives and do something about the country. When he finished speaking, three-fourths of the 250 white middle-class up-and-coming businessmen and young professionals stood up and applauded.

Kunstler, who started practicing law about the time most of the audience were born, sat among them as his usual disheveled self – hair unruly, shoes scuffed, corduroy suit rumpled. And he didn't spare punches.

Commenting on the court order that the U.S. should pay the attorney fees for Means and Banks, Kunstler said, "I think it's fitting for the government to pay – for this unjust, unreasonable persecution. We have an illusion that the law is just and fair and equitable. But it's a very manipulative system. It's used now at a very sacred kind of executioner – replacing the hangman's noose or the axe. That doesn't show the blood."

Government, he said, is using the law and the courts to "destroy groups that question its power. People have been destroyed, harassed, intimidated, their organizations destroyed." The method – the conspiracy trial, a method that so far has been unsuccessful before juries.

The government's purpose in prosecuting hundreds of people who were part of Wounded Knee, Kunstler believes, "is to destroy the Indians as a political force, to get the American Indian Movement out of the way so Indians can be dealt with as they always have been."

It is inconsistent, he said, to condemn the Watergate affair, "but sit by while the courts are further disgraced by these Indian trials."

Because of the Watergate and the conspiracy trials, Kunstler said he was "burning inside with anger and bitterness and frustration and hatred." But he told the Jaycees that "I come here in love, I come here in peace, I come here in the high hopes we will add something to our lives through this trial."

Ken Tilsen, who has been a long-time member of the WKLDOC, has some experience with antiwar demonstrators' cases. His initial involvement with Wounded Knee occurred ten days after the occupation began, and it is in keeping with the confusion that has surrounded the case from its beginning.

Tilsen heard third-hand, by way of New York, that there were no lawyers out in Wounded Knee, and that the Rapid City and Pine Ridge jails were packed with unrepresented Indians. He and another lawyer left for South Dakota immediately to see what they could do.

"The jail was bulging! – we didn't leave it for two days. We held magistrate's hearings for the 41 people who were in jail without representation, and we got them released," he recalls.

During the next two months, he alternated his time between Wounded Knee and St. Paul, usually managing to be in South Dakota when important things were happening. In late March, he got a court order permitting six lawyers to enter the besieged town with food and medicine for the occupation group and residents. He was with the group who went in.

– photo by Cheryl Walsh/North Country Anvil
Ethel Merrival and William Kunstler in court

"I volunteered to stay all night, and that was the night that the so-called "residents' " roadblock was set up and I wasn't able to get out."

Tilsen says that while he was inside, he shared the feeling of being in a liberated community for the first time in his life.

"Each day we had rations of soup and fry bread and then we'd sit up all night drinking coffee. I tried to cross the street once and had to hide behind a car that took four or five rounds from an FBI emplacement. Although I was in a restricted area surrounded by the military, I shared with the people the feeling of being in total control of my whole life. I felt much more free in a deep, personal sense than before."

Judge Nichol got his law degree in 1936, and has been a judge in state or federal appointments for the last 16 years. Prior to that, he was a former newspaper and radio newsman, college history and journalism teacher, and aide to a former U.S. senator. He has been active in Democratic politics.

Nichol feels that with the federal executive branch in disarray, the judiciary has a special responsibility. "I'd like to hope the judiciary can play a role to help restore the country a little bit, but there are only limited things the judiciary can do." He points to Judge John Sirica's straight-forward handling of the Watergate trials as an example of regaining respect for democratic institutions.

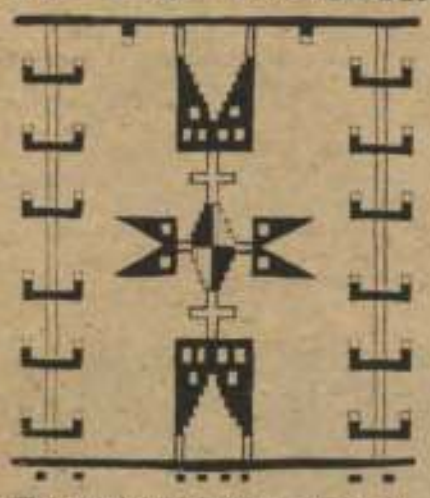
Another person working behind the scenes at the trials is John Trudell, national AIM co-chairman. He spoke at a rally at the University of Minnesota on the anniversary of the first day of the occupation.

"We have been condemned for being militant and violent," he said, "but in the American Indian Movement, we have not killed anyone – yet many of our people have died. We have not taken anyone and locked them up in prisons, but many of our people have been put in jails. We have not sold alcohol to people on reservations. We have not taken the young children away from their parents and put them in mission schools. We have not taken racist education and put it inside of our boarding schools. We have done none of these things – and yet we are the ones condemned for being militant and violent and radical. It was militancy and it was violence and it was radicalization that forced these things upon us and it did not come from our communities."

Ramon Roubideaux, chief AIM counsel, also found his life changed by the Wounded Knee occupation. He practiced law in Rapid City. As he told a rally in Philadelphia in January, "There I was, practicing law in South Dakota, forgetting my people, not entirely, but doing it on a case basis and not letting it interfere in my life too much, not knowing really that a revolution was on the way. Then Custer [confrontation] happened. And the Indian people are starting to flee from Egypt. We are looking for our promised *land* – we are looking for our *promised* land that they took away from us and won't allow us to own and enjoy under our treaty obligations."

The Question Of The 1868 Sioux Treaty... A Crucial Element In The Wounded Knee Trials.

– an analysis by Vine Deloria, Jr.



(The question of the Sioux Treaty of 1868 is crucial in the defense of those on trial for the occupation of Wounded Knee. The U.S. asked that all mention of the treaty be banned from the trials, but the court ruled against that. This analysis is by Vine Deloria, Jr., and was written for Race Relations Reporter, *a national publication reporting on contemporary events and issues affecting the racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. Address: Box 12156, Nashville, Tenn. 37202)*

The treaty relationship between the United States and the Indian tribes has been a key factor in American history, and the failure of the United States to fulfill its treaty promises has haunted Indians for most of the past century.

While treaties are now interpreted by the Indian Claims Commission and the executive branch of government as major real estate deals, in fact, most of them were peace treaties in which the tribes promised to cease their warfare with the settlers in return for which the United States would guarantee them peace, services such as education and annuity rations, and the protection of its laws.

Until the rise of the recent Indian movement, the federal government had the best of all possible worlds. It had long since gotten peace, and when the tribes were confined to reservations and without sufficient military power to retaliate it also got most of the Indian lands. In return, the U.S. assumed some social services not promised in the treaties and agreements. But when it turned the responsibility for providing these services to the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1890s by allowing the bureaucrats almost complete control over Indian lands and properties, the federal government again managed to secure more benefits than it was entitled to have because of the inability of the tribes to contest what it did.

By the late 1930s, it was getting very onerous to Congress to have tribal delegations under foot in Washington seeking legislation to give them standing to sue the government. After nearly a decade of controversy and many false starts, the Congress passed the Indian Claims Commission Act in 1946 and gave all the tribes a five-year period to file claims against the government that had accrued prior to 1946. While the Claims Commission Act itself was liberally written, the newly-appointed commissioners promptly gave its eligibility sections extremely narrow interpretations and eliminated some of the major claims which the tribes had outstanding. A frequent device for eliminating a tribal claim was to declare that the cause of action was really an individual matter and not a tribal matter, thereby precluding the suit altogether.

The Indian Claims Commission has been in existence for 28 years now, and has settled less than half of the land and accounting claims filed by the tribes. It has sidestepped most of the claims which did not involve lands, such as compensation for massacres of Indians at Wounded Knee and Sand Creek and other depredations committed by the United States Army against the tribes. The influence of the Indian Claims Commission has been immense because many federal policy-makers have assumed that any claims that the tribes have are being handled by that commission. Such is not true, and dissatisfaction has grown to the point where something radical needs to be done to put the treaty matter to rest.

Behind Alcatraz, the occupation of numerous federal lands, the occupation of the BIA headquarters in 1972, and Wounded Knee 1973 stands this unresolved treaty issue. Most of the complaints of the Indians today go to the portions of the treaties where the government promised it would abide by specific provisions or that it would do certain things. The failure of the United States to perform according to treaty has meant generations of resentful Indians waiting for that spark of protest to burst into a national flame. And we have finally, in the past year, seen that resentment burst into open warfare with the United States.

In order to understand how deeply the treaty issue affects Indians, and how confused the situation can be with respect to the fulfillment of treaty provisions, we must look at several sections of the 1868 Treaty of Fort Laramie with the Sioux and Arapaho which was the major complaint at Wounded Knee.

The 1868 treaty was one of a series of treaties signed in 1867 and 1868 with the tribes of the Great Plains as a result of President Grant's Peace Policy. That policy was partly philanthropic and partly economic. Friends of the Indians hated to see the wars of extermination carried out against the tribes when they were only defending themselves on their own lands. They pointed out that so fierce were the wars between the Indians and the cavalry that it would be infinitely cheaper to simply provide rations and services to the tribes on reservations guaranteed by the government than to continue what was essentially a war of attrition on both sides.

All of these treaties had the same basic formulas which provided for educational benefits, reserved rights for hunting, tribal "Land Books" for allowing tracts of land to individuals within the reserved areas, and provisions that no further land cessions would be asked of the tribes without the approval of three-quarters of their adult males.

The Sioux Treaty was the hardest to obtain. The Army had built a series of forts through the Sioux hunting lands and as the gold miners traveled along this row of forts toward the Montana gold fields, it became known as the Bozeman Trail. Realizing that the extinguishment of game in the area would doom their way of life, and remembering that the Treaty of 1851 at Fort Laramie guaranteed them hunting lands inviolate, the Sioux conducted a fearful war against the United States led by the great Oglala chief, Red Cloud.

From the first break of spring until late November, 1868, the United States waited at Fort Laramie for the various bands of Sioux to come to the fort and touch the pen signifying the end of the war and acceptance of the treaty. Band after band signed, but peace did not come. Red Cloud demanded the withdrawal of the soldiers from his lands before he would sign the treaty.

As the toll of dead mounted along the Bozeman, the United States began to knuckle under. Regardless of the numerous signatures already on the treaty, it was obvious that unless the United States met Red Cloud's terms, the Bozeman would remain a very high-insurance-risk area. Finally, the United States agreed to move the forts and called Red Cloud in. He refused to come until the soldiers had left, and when the forts were finally emptied and Red Cloud was able to walk through the ashes, he arrived at Fort Laramie with his band and calmly touched the pen, signaling the end of the only Indian war the United States would ever lose.

Following the defeat of the Seventh Cavalry at the Little Big Horn in 1876, the United States sent a commission to treat with the Sioux and Arapaho for the cession of the Black Hills area. The commission failed miserably to get the required three-quarters signatures of the Sioux, but reported to the Congress that they had made the agreement; and in February, 1877, the Congress passed an act which purported to confiscate the Black Hills area.

The Sioux complained bitterly that the cession did not follow the procedures set down and ratified by the Congress in the treaty of 1868, but to no avail. The United States has always maintained in public that the deal was legal, while admitting privately that it was one of the biggest swindles in world history.

In all subsequent land cessions made by the tribes signing 1867 and 1868 treaties, including later land cessions with the Sioux, the government always waited until it had the required number of signatures. And when it could not get them, as in the case of the Kiowa and Comanche in the Jerome Agreement of 1892, signatures were forged so that the agreement appeared to be legal. The alleged cession of the Black Hills thus stands out conspicuously in American history as the most blatant case of treaty violation.

Even if one were to follow the argument of the United States and agree that the 1876 agreement were legal (and this sentence is in no way to be construed as indicating that the agreement was a legal act) even then the United States did not fulfill its promises. The 1876 agreement promised that the Government would build comfortable houses for every Indian who would agree to take an allotment. Needless to say, the Government never did anything of the kind. Rather, the 1876 agreement's terms were forgotten as soon as the area was securet to the United States.

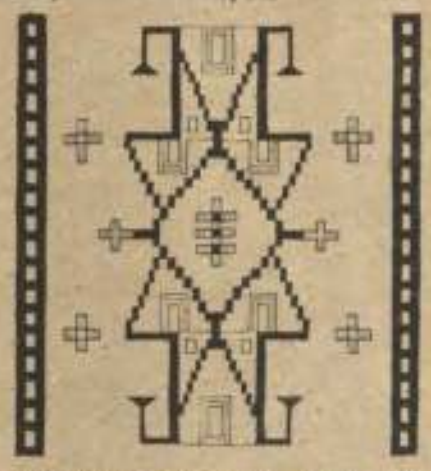
Today, 106 years after the signing of the 1868 treaty, the Sioux still have not been paid for the lands taken by the United States, nor has the United States provided, in most cases, the services promised under the treaty. The same case can be made for almost any other important treaty signed with the tribes.

It would seem, in a nation of laws, that there would be some legal recourse available to the tribes who can prove their treaties have been violated. The problem has been a very complicated one. An amazing number of cases have been taken in both state and federal courts in an effort to clarify the treaty rights of Indians. Some surprising decisions have been rendered.

In one case, *Ward v. Race Horse*, a treaty provision was repealed by implication – the decision proved so outrageous to Congress that it appropriated funds to compensate the tribe for its alleged loss. Another case taken on the same treaty decades later, *United States v. Cutler*, produced the amazing decision that not even the Migratory Birds Convention with North American nations was sufficient to override the treaty clause granting the tribe the right to hunt on the reservation. Between these two extremes, the cases have litigated almost every aspect of the treaties that can be imagined.

Courts cannot reach ultimate decisions on treaties, however, since their task is to interpret the treaty articles in accordance with the actions of both parties and in view of what the treaty was supposed to accomplish for both parties. Depending upon the knowledge of history available to the judge rendering the decision, the treaty provisions have come to mean any number of things. In the last analysis, the courts have ruled that the decision on what happens to the tribes rests with the Congress, and several courts have simply said that the question under consideration is a political one that must be decided by Congress.

Until 1973, there was no effort made by the Congress to shoulder its constitutional responsibility.



Following the occupation of the BIA and the national election of 1972, a great many things began to happen. Both the Senate and House Indian subcommittees got new chairmen, Senator James Abourezk and Congressman Lloyd Meeds. Both men were well known for their incisive and intelligent approach to Indian matters, and they began to clear out the many pieces of legislation that had lingered in their committees for several Congresses.

Wounded Knee finally provided the impetus for radical change. During the confrontation at Wounded Knee, both Meeds and Abourezk visited the reservation and talked with people on both sides of the dispute. One thing became apparent during the occupation of the village, and that was the century of neglect and confusion during which the United States had refused to confront the treaty issue had come to an end. Even if Wounded Knee could have been settled with no deaths or criminal charges, the treaty issue would not be set to rest by a total reformation of the tribal government – it was ingrained too deeply into the resentment of the people to be avoided.

Senator James Abourezk introduced Joint Resolution 133 in mid-July of 1973 in an effort to force some of the issues in Indian Affairs to surface. The resolution, if passed into law, would create a 15-man commission that would investigate the fulfillment of the treaties and agreements between the United States and all of the tribes, that would review the policies, practices, and structures of the federal agencies dealing with Indians, and that would collect and compile the data necessary to understand the extent of present and future Indian needs. In short, in one gigantic leap, Senator Abourezk put Congress into the forefront of the Indian movement by proposing a vehicle more daring and creative than even the Indians had conceived.

The only people who really want the commission are the silent majority of Indians who want less talk and more action and who see in an investigative and study commission a chance to present arguments and ideas that have been neglected for nearly a century by both Indians and bureaucrats. There is no doubt that the Abourezk Resolution would be historic in many senses. Not since the Senate Indian Committee investigations of 1928-32 has a major investigation of Indian Affairs been conducted. During that time a great many policy changes were made with only the premise that "it seemed like a good idea at the time" for justification of their existence. There has never been a commission that was designed to confront treaty issues directly.

The resolution has passed the Senate and is now in the House Subcommittee on Indian Affairs where Lloyd Meeds has promised early hearings. While it may get passed in the House, there remains a question of whether the President will sign it since it may not contain the provision that he would appoint the commission's Indian members. . . [and] a frightened Bureau of Indian Affairs wondering whether or not it can survive an open investigation of its operations.

Judgment day is arriving in Indian Affairs, and everyone is confused as hell about it.

THE END!?

"A Man Named Paul"

Minneapolis, Minnesota – An American Lutheran Church official who narrowly missed being jailed on contempt of court charges when an appeals court ordered him freed has announced he will resign his position to "work for justice for American Indians."

The Rev. Dr. Paul A. Boe, director of social services for the ALC had refused to testify about Indian activities at Wounded Knee during the occupation on the grounds that clergymen had a right to privileged communication similar to that of a lawyer or physician. He was found guilty of contempt by U.S. District Judge Paul Benson at Sioux Falls, South Dakota. Benson is a member of the ALC.

The U.S. 8th Circuit Court of Appeals did not rule on the issue of confidentiality, but said that he had not been given adequate time to present a defense. The ruling came just as Dr. Boe was in Sioux Falls January 16th to surrender himself to be imprisoned. 500 persons had come from all over the country to support him in his stand, and had gathered for a service in the First Lutheran Church a few blocks away from the federal courthouse.

About 300 persons accompanied him after the service was over as Boe went to the office of U.S. Marshal George L. Tennyson for confirmation of the reversal of his sentence. Tennyson, obviously unhappy at seeing so many people try to crowd into his office, told Boe he had been instructed "not to take you into custody."

Clyde Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement who is also on trial for his part in the Wounded Knee occupation, told the crowd that Boe was "a good friend of Indians", and thanked him for his support. He reminded the group, however, that Leonard Crow Dog, another religious leader but of the natural religion, "was not so fortunate" and "faces long jail terms for practicing the native American religion. Once again, the double standard of justice for Indians becomes quite clear. We urgently seek the help of all Americans to free Leonard Crow Dog, who like Dr. Boe, is only guilty of practicing a recognized native American religion."

Dr. Boe said he had mixed feelings about being out of prison at this time because there were so many people still facing long terms if found guilty of "crimes" committed in regard to Wounded Knee occupation. He expressed faith that the courts would try to understand the issues behind Wounded Knee and not look at who burned what and who stole what – "Only then will we get at the heart of what justice means," he asserted.

Boe said he was resigning his position in the ALC to spend a significant portion of the next year or two working for native causes. He has been working with ALC for the last 20 years, with 14 in his current post.

In St. Paul, Russell Means of AIM said he sees the 8th Circuit Court as a "positive force in preventing reactionary judges from turning things in North Dakota and South Dakota into a police state."

William Kunstler of New York, part of the defense team for Means and Dennis Banks, said he was "glad the courts are beginning to join jurors throughout the country in opposing and resisting the attempts of the government to use the grand jury and other legal institutions to destroy the rights and liberties of its citizens."

Boe had said he would rather be jailed than breech his obligations as a clergyman to be silent. During his ten-day stay in the opening days of the occupation, Dr. Boe said, "for the first time in my life I had fear of my own government. It was a tremendously profound moment of my life."

Boe could have spent 13 months in jail until the grand jury's term ended – or until he agreed to testify. Ten religious groups and leaders joined with the ALC in supporting Boe's appeal with a friend-of-the-court brief.

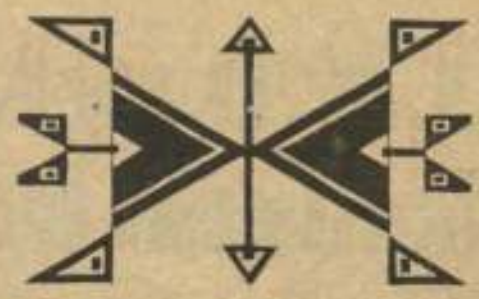
"To people who have borne injustices and poverty," the brief said, "as the American Indians have, preaching alone by the churches is not sufficient. The churches' witness must be expressed in deed as well as in word. . . When such a relationship has been created or established, as is the case here, communications often involve very deep and intimate spiritual and moral considerations . . ."

Groups supporting the brief included the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA, the United States Catholic Conference, the Lutheran Church in America, the United Presbyterian Church in the USA, Nishop John E. Hines of the Episcopal Church, the Center for Social Action of the United Church of Christ, the United Methodist Church's Church and Society Board, Msgr. John Egan of the Catholic Committee on Urban Ministry, and the Department of Church and Society of the Division of Homeland Ministries of the Christian Church.

Dr. Paul Boe . . . "I think the Indian cause was and is a good one."

His church is generally conservative, Boe notes, and people had accused him of radicalism. "We are not dealing here with a radical type of movement that is trying to overthrow the Government of the USA," Boe noted. "I think we're trying to deal here with movements which are seeking to liberate people, restore humanity to people, and truly to restore the freedoms that we as Americans think we enjoy and ought to enjoy on the basis of our Constitution in this country."

Although there was official support for him, Boe noted that many members of his church had condemned his involvement in Wounded Knee, and he said he doubted that many Lutheran clergymen spoke out in the pulpit one way or the other about the matter.



"I think the Indian cause was and is a good one," Boe said. "Early in the occupation, the leaders were ready to give it up after the government made some promises about arrests, but then they decided they had had enough theater – they decided to stay until the government dealt with the issues, issues such as treaties and a double standard of justice. But nothing has really happened since. The government has neglected to point up the serious grievances against the Indians – instead they saw only criminal actions. I think the indictments and the broken promises since Wounded Knee have only made the Indians more cynical. I think they feel they made a great sacrifice at Wounded Knee at great personal risk – and gained nothing."

(Thanks to the Associated Press, Mike McCabe of the Minneapolis Star, Willmar Thorkelson, Minneapolis Star Religion Editor, for the information used here.)

AN UNSLEEPING MOMENT
EARLY ON THE MORNING OF NOV. 21, 1973

A lone and lank man
Limps with a wounded knee
On a Sioux Falls' step . . .
Is anyone praying, friends?

The Grand Jury seeks its facts
So that Indian bodies
Can be buried behind bars,
Massacres lawfully done
While America stands
unknowing
At the bar of justice . . .
Is anyone praying, friends?

O the trail of broken treaties
is long
And Indian ghost dancers
wheel in the night
With invocations that
even the Christian God might hear . . .
Is anyone praying, friends?
The state plays its poker hand
with the church
And raises the ante to win –
a confessional gambled away,
small loss in a Watergate world . . .
Is anyone praying, friends?

Where has the energy gone?
It tiptoes out at Kent State, Hue,
Stopped for a while at Wounded Knee,
And then faded slowly
Into the winter of '74
Is anyone praying, friends?
"Contempt" flashes off and on
in a Webster's lexicon
one more word lost
for the credibility lists . . .
Is anyone praying, friends?

Aye, Paul, a prisoner for the Lord.

– a note to Paul Boe from Joe Bash

OTHER CHURCH GROUPS AID NATIVE STRUGGLE TO COMBAT RACISM

The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), which had medical personnel and observers at last year's siege on Wounded Knee, urged that the public keep a close watch on the trials.

"We view the trials as an occasion for all Americans to consider the urgent need for all native Americans share for justice in their own land," Nick Meinhardt, a community relations secretary in the AFSC Minneapolis office said.

Other church groups have helped the cause of justice at Wounded Knee. The Episcopal Church is making available up to $60,000 as bail money for ceses arising out of the confrontation, for instance.

The American Indian Movement also received $15,000 from the World Council of Churches to go towards a "legal task force to combat the continuing barrage of illegal acts stripping Indians of land ownership and abusing their civil rights." The WCC allocated grants totalling $450,000 to 28 other liberation movements, including the African Independence Party in Portuguese-held Africa. Money allocated by the WCC comes from contributions by member churches to the Special Fund to Combat Racism.

(Thanks to Los Angeles Times "World Parish," Dennis Cassano of the Minneapolis Tribune, University of Minnesota News Service, Preview and Susan Cushman, John Lundquist of the Associated Press, and Dorothy Lewis and Lee Gack of the St. Paul Dispatch, for information used here.)

"This cause ought to be dear to the hearts of all Christian people and all Christian churches."

(Before the Wounded Knee trials began in St. Paul, Dr. Paul Boe made a statement at a rally. This is an extract:)

I want to say to church people that this kind of cause ought to be dear to the hearts of all Christian people and all Christian churches, for Our Lord stood with the poor, and the prophets of Israel in the Old Testament inveighed against those who oppressed the poor, and Our Lord stood beside all those who were seeking their humanity under God.

While I was in Wounded Knee, I did a great deal of listening. I listened to the Indians talk about their needs, their cause, and the things that they were seeking for in this country. And I say to every citizen of this country – and particularly to white people – that these issues and these causes ought to be dear to the hearts of every one of us, because they strike right at the life and liberty of our country and of every citizen in this country.

We need to be vigilant in this country that the forces of oppression do not work further into the life of our country and that we seek to release those, such as the American Indians, who have been living under oppression in this country for many years. . . Oppression is not only against black people and against Indians – that oppression turns around and oppresses the oppressor.

That's why I have supported the American Indian Movement.

A.I.M. Defense Team Argues For Dismissal Of Charges In St. Paul

(As the trials of Russell Means and Dennis Banks began in St. Paul, Minnesota, in U.S. District Court, a motion to dismiss charges was filed on their behalf by the legal defense team. This article summarizes the basis of the argument for dismissal. Following are excerpts from the legal brief and the supporting affidavits.)

The Wounded Knee Legal Defense/Offense Committee lawyers gave the court six reasons why charges against Russell Means and Dennis Banks should be dismissed. First, it was said, the U.S. Government had invaded and infiltrated the defense team itself, including the use of information obtained by the Attorney General of South Dakota by the same illegal means. John Fitzgerald, who had been involved in the preparation of the defense was hired by the State of South Dakota as a chief prosecutor just as the trials were beginning. (Full details are in the last issue of AKWESASNE NOTES.)

Second, the U.S. Government "has, by illegal, unlawful, and unconstitutional surveillance, harassment, terrorization, brutalization, and intimidation, as well as physical assaults and threats of assassination and serious physical injury to lawyers and legal workers for the defense" hurt the defense preparations. (Again, full details are in previous issues of NOTES covering the conflict between the more than one hundred FBI agents in Rapid City, South Dakota, and the defense legal office there.)

The motion to dismiss alleged too that federal, state, local, BIA, and tribal officers have interfered with access to both defendants and potential witnesses, and have illegally approached them in an effort to deny the accused a fair and impartial trial. (The last issue of NOTES covered the alleged attempts to get Pedro Bissonette, a leading defendant himself, to turn state's witness. He refused. Then, he was shot and killed by BIA police.)

Still a fourth accusation is that the same officials also had terrorized witnesses into silence.

Fifth, federal and other officials "have deliberately and maliciously sought to create a hostile and prejudicial atmosphere against the defendants", and that they had used "deadly force" to "dispel and disperse widespread support for the defendants from the American people" in order to deny them a fair trial.

False and perjured testimony had been sought by federal and other officials, defense lawyers said, through threats and assaults, as well as bribery and "other inducements" contrary to the Constitution of the United States.

The motion said that if the court did not dismiss the charges, it should at least have hearings to determine the exact nature and extent of these illegal acts, and then it should give whatever relief as "may be just and proper."

Attached to the motion were numerous affidavits with supporting evidence. One affidavit dealt with the way in which the law on the reservation is enforced "selectively", favoring tribal council supporters and to the disadvantage of American Indian Movement members. For instance, on July 11, 1973, there was the shooting of Clarence Cross by BIA policemen. He died later of those wounds, and it was obvious the patrolman involved would be sued. In anticipation of this action, the affidavit states, the authorities charged and arrested Vernal Cross, another victim of the shooting incident and Clarence's brother, for allegedly assaulting the police officers. Prior to the death, there had been no investigation of the matter.

"On numerous occasions, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been called by residents of the Reservation who were and are still AIM supporters and defendants in Wounded Knee and related cases," the affidavit continues. "Many of these incidents involved violence towards the persons of the AIM supporters or their property. When called, the police did very little to remedy the situation. Sometimes the situations were ignored, and at other times, the persons complained of were taken into custody only to be released once the police car was out of sight of the complainants."

One time Violet Young Bear reported to police that certain individuals had beat on her door, threatened her, and challenged her to come out of the house. A BIA policeman, Lee Weston, arrived at the scene. He "did not seem very interested," Ms. Young Bear said, but finally agreed to check the situation out. Later in the evening, the same group of individuals again threatened Ms. Young Bear, who then drove to the BIA police station, where officer Loren Robinson told her to come back on Friday to sign a complaint – he would do nothing more.

Later the same evening, Patrolman Weston parked his car between two groups of people – AIM supporters and members of the goon squad involved in the threats to Ms. Young Bear. Weston told Severt Young Bear to get his group of AIM supporters to leave. They did leave the scene after other police cars arrived to haul away the offending goon squad members – but the police cars turned north instead of heading to the jail, and none of the persons taken away were arrested or charged although they had been publicly intoxicated and in disorderly conduct.

In contrast, the affidavit said, Paul Herman, a BIA police officer, and Chris Red Elk, allegedly a member of the infamous "goon squad", assaulted Helen Red Feather, an AIM supporter. During the arrest, mace was sprayed in her face, and her arm was twisted back although she had told the two officers that she was four months pregnant. She was also kicked in the side, although she didn't touch or hit either of the men. She was sprayed with mace in the face at least two more times while in the car on the way to the police station, and then the jail custodian would not allow adequate medical treatment until two days later despite her complaints of pain and facial burns.

EXCERPTS FROM THE DEFENSE MOTION

There are numerous instances in which the federal government's refusal to act appears to be directly related to a political decision by the [U.S.] Government to support the tyranny on the reservation as well as the current tyrant. As one example, one can examine the illegal conduct of the tribal president's son, Billy Wilson.

The young man was on probation as the result of a gang rape of a young girl. The conditions of his federal probation required that he remain out of the state of South Dakota, off of the reservation, and that he refrain from further violation of the law.

He returned to the reservation, bringing with him illegal drugs and he dispensed the controlled substance to a number of very young girls, some of them children. This matter was brought to the attention of two FBI agents, whose investigation confirmed that a serious crime had been committed. Billy Wilson was released from the jail in Pine Ridge at once and permitted to leave the state. The federal government refused to take any action in the face of a report showing that a crime or crimes had been committed and that the terms of the probation had been violated.

For less serious charges, bail has been revoked against Russell Means by the federal judiciary and he was incarcerated for a substantial period of time. Similar action by the federal judiciary was taken against [AIM leader] Pedro Bissonette's bail bond, which revocation provided an excuse for a federal police officer to murder him.

Many other persons associated with the terror against the residents of the reservation have been supported and aided by the local system of justice. Glenn Three Stars has testified that he is "head of the task force", a group he defines as one designed to take measures "to keep out AIM" or to drive AIM members and their lawyers and supporters from the reservation.

On April 5, 1973, Mr. Three Stars and Mr. John B. Richards assaulted Mr. Hobart Keith, who is a member of the Oglala Sioux Tribal Council. Mr. Keith was then an active participant in the effort to impeach the tribal president, Mr. Wilson. He had been the tribe's Chief Judge until some of his judicial decisions displeased Mr. Wilson.

Mr. Keith filed a complaint against Mr. Three Stars later that same day. The next day in the Post Office in Pine Ridge, Mr. Three Stars said to Mr. Keith, "When we beat you up, you won't be able to do anything about it." Despite Mr. Keith's effort to have the case processed, no action was taken against Mr. Three Stars.

Mr. Keith then decided to appeal to federal authorities. To deprive Mr. Keith of any success along those lines, the tribal authorities acted. Three Stars was charged, pleaded guilty, and was sentenced by a tribal judge to a five cent fine and ten minutes in jail. Thus jeopardy had attached and no further action could be taken.

Ms. [Ethel] Merrival, a tribal attorney, was present when a BIA special investigator told her in the chambers of the Chief Judge of the Oglala Sioux Tribe that "my police got orders to knock the shit out of any Indians they arrest. I don't care about charges of police brutality. I've got my orders and that's what my police are going to do."

Ms. Merrival states: And it happened and is happening. Men and women on the reservation were arrested and badly beaten. That is one of the reasons that the people of the reservation asked the American Indian Movement for help."

The terror complained of herein remains a dominant factor on the reservation and has, in fact, increased since the siege of Wounded Knee, has been encouraged by the federal government and its agents, and makes it impossible for the defendant herein to secure the testimony of witnesses who, [without] the atmosphere of terror and fear, would have been important witnesses for the defense.

The reservation defense witnesses are not mobile. They must return to the reservation after they testify, in contrast to reservation witnesses who may be prosecution witnesses who have been offered air fare, substantial sums of money, and "protection" should they agree to give false testimony against the defendants herein. When truth is punished and falsity rewarded, a fair and impartial trial is an impossibility.

JUDICIAL PREJUDICE

Following a demonstration for justice in Custer, South Dakota, organized by people associated with the American Indian Movement and attended by . . . Russell Means and Dennis Banks, Judge Andrew Bogue [of the U.S. District Court] made a series of inflammatory and prejudicial remarks about the members of the American Indian Movement . . . There are but two federal judges in South Dakota. Their statements are often publicized and as representatives of the federal presence in South Dakota they play an important part in shaping opinion on questions of a public nature. Two days after the Custer confrontation, Judge Bogue made the following remarks which revealed a great deal about the intemperate political and racial climate in the state, and Judge Bogue's lack of judicial temperment.

In the case of U.S. v. Gilbert Clarence Young, on February 8, 1973, Judge Bogue made the following comments:

"Getting back to this other thing I was talking about, I don't know quite how to approach it, but the defendant is an American Indian in part, I guess, and because of the violence that took place as a result of action on the part of some hoodlums who classify themselves as AIM members – I assume that all AIM people are not of this nature, but at least some appear to be and are strictly hoodlums – I think that it is without question the attitude of most of the people throughout this state are violently incensed about the actions of some of those hoodlums."

In the presence of the jury panel, Judge Bogue said:

"The defendant in this case is an American Indian, at least in part, and because it appears that there has been great publicity given to the recent events in Custer, where it appears that some hoodlums who may have been or may not have been members of the American Indian Movement were involved in events, the public opinion is greatly aroused because of such events and it is incumbent upon me to advise you to the best of my knowledge and belief the defendant is not now and never has been a member of such an organization."

Ms. Barbara Means held the position of Clerk of Courts for the Oglala Sioux Tribal Courts from January, 1972, until February 7, 1973. Prior to that, Ms. Means worked as clerk-stenographer for that court from November, 1970, to September, 1971 . . .

Ms. Means helped to arrange for jury trials during the April, May, and June, 1972, trials. The jury was selected by the Tribal Executive Board. Ms. Means was present when that happened. The jury for a trial was not selected at random and she believes that the improper method of jury selection still continues.

The Oglala Sioux Tribal Court temporary associate judge Dorothy Richards used her official position to harass those in the tribe who sympathize with the goals of the American Indian Movement, and advocate change in the tribal government. . .

Judge Dorothy Richards has rigged the court arrest records in order to mislead the U.S. Magistrate and local authorities and cause them to set high bail for persons associated with the American Indian Movement. As one example, while awaiting a bail hearing for traveling to the vicinity of Wounded Knee, the Rapid City Police Department received a police record stating that Mrs. Victoria Wounded Foot had 20 previous arrests from 1968 to 1970. That statement was untrue, and those records were invented by Alberta Ponds, police desk clerk, as well as Judge Richards.

THE GOVERNMENT MANIPULATION OF THE MEDIA FOR THE PURPOSE OF DENYING A FAIR TRIAL TO THE DEFENDANTS

The federal government, through the acts of its agents, authorized certain media representatives to enter the Pine Ridge Reservation and remain there during the seige of Wounded Knee. Deliberately and systematically excluded from the reservation at the express direction of representatives of the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Interior were those persons thought to be sympathetic to the Indian people and the cause they were espousing.

In this fashion, the Federal Government was able to exercise a degree of control over the substance of news emanating from Wounded Knee. Our investigation has failed to disclose any action by the federal government or its agents which resulted in the barring or removal of a single news person who was sympathetic to the tribal authorities . . .

Another technique employed by the government was the controlled press conference. News media representation found little to report on other than the daily or twice daily news conferences held by representatives of the Department of Justice and dubbed by some of the media representatives "the four o'clock follies". Follies or not, they were conferences which often excluded press representation who were prepared to ask probing or hostile questions as well as representatives of another view. The conferences were held in the BIA building in Pine Ridge, and the doors were guarded by armed and helmeted federal police who denied access to those considered to be unsympathetic.

In this controlled setting, the Department of Justice representatives commented at will about their view of the guilt and unreasonableness of the defendants and their supporters, thereby deliberately creating an atmosphere in which a fair trial anywhere within the United States might be difficult or impossible to achieve. Department of Justice representatives told me [Mark Lane] after one such press conference that they were certain that the national polls which then showed that a majority of the American people supported the liberation of Wounded Knee would soon show quite the reverse. They expected that their influence over the stories being sent from Pine Ridge would cause a lessening of support for the Indian people.

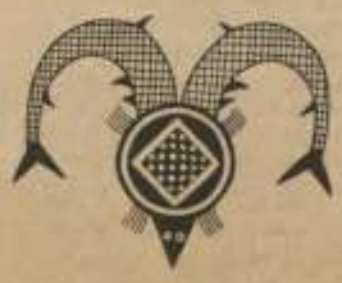
The most accurate stories coming from the reservation were those originating in Wounded Knee itself, and were based upon interviews conducted by media representatives there. Under the existing conditions, it was impossible for the government to control that circumstance and distort the news, or so it seemed. Suddenly one night, the Government acted. The word was called into the news media representatives in Wounded Knee, and within a short period of time almost all of the major media representatives fled from the village.

Later, a network television crew reentered Wounded Knee for the purpose of telling the American people the truth about what was happening there. They were arrested by the federal police.

The Government was most effective in manipulating public opinion against the American Indian Movement and its supporters on the last day of the occupation of Wounded Knee. This result was accomplished by fixing in the minds of millions of Americans the false story that AIM members had forced the original Indian occupants of Wounded Knee to leave their homes, and that AIM members had then occupied and destroyed them.

Paragraph 9 of the May 5, 1973, agreement states: "After those occupants who have been arrested are en route to Rapid City, and the 'all others' group is enroute from the Pine Ridge Reservation, the permanent residents of Wounded Knee will be escorted to their homes by Government officials pursuant to paragraph 2(c) of the April 5, 1973, agreement. The searches set forth in paragraph 2(c) of that April 5, 1973, agreement, will then take place."

Paragraph 2(c) of the April 5, 1973, agreement states: "The occupants of Wounded Knee consent to a search for snipers, weapons, and other dangerous devices only, with a minimum of inconvenience to the occupants and attorneys may monitor. Any such snipers, weapons, and dangerous devices found will be removed. All subsequent searches if any will be conducted pursuant to court order."



Edward White Dress, former police officer, and his family, was taken to Road Block One at 7:30 a.m., May 8, 1973, where they were fingerprinted and photographed. There are 11 children in the White Dress family, ranging in age from 3 months to 17 years of age. The federal officers searched the 3-month and 13-month old babies, even the diapers, to see if anything was hidden. They fingerprinted children as young as 14 and took pictures of babies.

The processing took about 15-30 minutes, and the family was taken to the DMZ and was held until 5:00 p.m. No food, water, or milk was provided the babies. Mr. White Dress asked Community Relations Service [CRS] [of the Department of Justice] to get milk at the house; they refused. The family had to sit in the hot sun with no food or water until they were released at 5 p.m.

Upon returning to their home, which Edward White Dress had left locked, clean, and orderly, they found the house in complete disarray. All articles were turned upside down and strewn all over. The stovepipe was smashed. The White Dress family car was vandalized. Car windows had been smashed, the trunk was broken into, and the front door was ripped off of its hinges.

After spending all night (May 8) cleaning the house, they found that their cameras and suitcases were missing.

The homes of many persons considered to be AIM supporters by federal police were ransacked, windows broken, stoves overturned, doors torn off of hinges, and what little there was of value – cameras, clocks, radios – stolen. I personally observed many of the homes sometime before the stand-down in May, 1973. I also observed the homes and talked to the occupants just after they were permitted to return to their homes. The houses, the furniture, and other personal property had quite obviously been damaged or stolen by federal police.

After the destruction of the homes, from which the press had been barred by the federal police, the federal police encouraged the news media personnel to enter the village.

The federal police pointed to the devastation and explained that AIM members had destroyed the homes of Indian residents of Wounded Knee. That fiction as well as other government-contrived fiction remains as a fixed "fact" today in the minds of many Americans as surveys and polls have disclosed.

CONCLUSIONS

The mistreatment of the American Indian by the Government of the United States is a tragic historic fact and one which the American People must one day confront. The spirit of the lawless West prevailed one hundred years ago. It prevailed as well in Wounded Knee in March, April, and May, 1973. The village of Wounded Knee was surrounded by a military operation with armored personnel carriers, road blocks manned by uniformed men with automatic weapons, marshalls and FBI agents equipped with white phosporous flares and sophisticated field communication devices.

Every road leading into Wounded Knee was sealed and guarded. A perimeter was established to seal off those who resided in Wounded Knee and to starve them into submission. Among those who were the intended victims of the Government's starvation plan were infants, children, women, and men who had for a long time resided in Wounded Knee.

When an application for relief was submitted to the United States District Court in South Dakota, the assistant United States Attorney opposed the request for permission to bring a limited amount of food and medicine to the Indian families and their friends in the village of Wounded Knee saying "to the United States Government, permitting food for these people is the same as giving them ammunition." Shortly thereafter, the attorney who had uttered these words explained to me that he had not meant what he said but that he was required to take that position because of direct orders to do so from Washington.

How does one enter into dialogue with a government that is unable to distinguish ammunition from food for hungry children? In any event, one fact emerged from the disclosure and from the consistent conduct of the marshals and FBI agents – government policy was to decline to avert the Indians in Wounded Knee, and to build an airtight perimeter that would seal off the area and eventually starve the Indians out. The policy, while hardly humane, was not a new one as it reflected a policy tried with some success a century and a half before.

However, the government was impatient. Its road blocks were moved forward and together with the other government bunkers and military emplacements, the government occupied all of the high ground, including the crests of the hills surrounding the village. From that vantage point, the government military operation was able to pour consistent automatic weapon fire into the village and to fire white phosphorous flares into the village [starting] numerous grass fires and other fires which burned down churches and dwellings. The stated policy of the government was containment and starvation rather than a military assault. The forward movement of the emplacements, however, gave the impression that the real policy was confrontation and its inevitable result, injury and death.

I was present at more than one negotiating session after the government troops moved into firing position and more than once I heard the defendants and their associates ask that the confrontation be minimized by a mutual withdrawal from positions then held. Those requests were rejected by the government military negotiators out of hand. Yet it is the defendants who have been charged by the government with the responsibility for wounding a marshal and an FBI agent who could not have been injured had they been sensibly positioned.

From the very outset, the government and its agents sought to employ every morally-dubious trick and device against the Indian people. It is in that context that one must assess the continuing government efforts to create circumstances that will deny a fair trial to the defendants. For example, there is strong evidence to suggest that many of the arrests that were made by federal agents of Indian people during the first days of the liberation of Wounded Knee, were made solely for the purpose of developing a group of persons, who, although innocent, would be vulnerable to government efforts forcing them to become informers. This practice is used by the federal police and other police forces as a matter of course, particularly when dealing with narcotic violators. However, Wounded Knee may have marked the first application of that technique on a mass basis to innocent people.

The defense is prepared to present witnesses to testify that arrests of innocent persons were made by the FBI for the sole purpose of developing a pool from which vulnerable persons might be selected and turned into informers. One man, Samuel Moves Camp, was even offered a reward by the federal police for informing on his mother, Ellen Moves Camp. He refused to do so.

The fact that even in the histeria that existed in South Dakota during the siege of Wounded Knee, the federal grand jury refused to indict such a remarkably high portion of those who had been arrested by the federal police gives further corroboration to these witnesses who assert that many people known to be innocent by the federal police were arrested.

I can state of my own personal knowledge the hostility of some of the FBI agents and marshals toward the Indians. I heard agents speak of "adding a couple of scalps to my belt" and demanding that "we be allowed to go in there and kill the damn Indians." On more than one occasion, I witnessed acts of brutality of federal agents against Indians and their supporters. On one occasion, I was kicked and beaten by U.S. Marshals for asking permission to inspect a house belonging to Billy and Florine Hollow Horn that had been illegally occupied by U.S. Marshals. I reported that assault to two attorneys for the Department of Justice. They both laughed and I began to better understand some of the frustration and rightful anger that our clients must have experienced so many days of their lives.

The assaults, the deception, the fraud, the political use of the federal, state, local and tribal police and court systems and the other consistent and continuing illegal acts employed against the Indian people have resulted in an atmosphere of terror. In that atmosphere, created by the federal government and its agents, Indian residents of the Pine Ridge Reservation are afraid to testify truthfully.

The federal government created the conditions which the people of Wounded Knee and their supporters protested against. The federal government now shamelessly seeks to imprison those who spoke and acted out against the illegal actions of the federal government and its agents. The federal government then created and continued an atmosphere of terror in which the truth could not possibly be presented to the jury.

We say the government and its agents have gone beyond the point where moral men and women can any longer remain silent.

It is the duty of the court to dismiss the charges due to the fact that it is impossible for the defendants to receive a fair trial in the circumstances which have been created by the federal government.

–Mark Lane

"A JURY OF YOUR PEERS"

St. Paul, Minnesota —

It is the jury which will return a verdict of guilty or not guilty — or perhaps no verdict at all if they can not agree — and so selection of jury members is a crucial task for both defense and prosecution. The task took over a month.

Of the 12 jurors finally selected, none were Indian, and only one was a member of a U.S.-minority group. About half were under 30 years of age. Seven are Catholics, two Lutheran, and one said he was agnostic. Three are blue collar workers, six white collar workers, two are students and one is a housewife. Most said that they were "politically independent." They are:

Therese Cherrier, 53, German-Catholic resident of St. Paul, married to her third husband with five children from 15 to 29 years of age. She is employed as a postal clerk, describes herself as a Democrat, and says she does not know very much about Indians.

Louanne Boeke, 42, German-Catholic divorced mother of five who works as a secretary for a local manufacturer. She told Judge Nichols her first cousin was married to an Indian, and one of her co-workers was an Indian.

Maureen Coonan, 22, Scottish-Irish single college graduate who lives at home. Employed as a librarian for a county library system, and a political independent. She earlier studied a course on Indian culture taught by a Sioux.

James Putnam, 22, English-American, single, college student, learned of Indians first through the Boy Scouts' Order of the Arrow. He has visited Minnesota's Leech Lake Reservation.

Susan Overas, 19, Norwegian-Irish, college sophomore, works as a department store clerk. A practicing Catholic, politically independent. She has heard of top AIM leaders and attorney William Kunstler in the past.

Nancy Claeson, 31, German-American Lutheran, married, no children, a program analyst for a data firm in St. Paul.

John Kilbride, 27, a Mormon, Democrat, married, three children. A tool grinder and president of his local machinist union. His sister-in-law is married to an Indian, with whom he is friendly. He has visited reservations and been in Indian homes.

Fran J. Aiken, 20, Scottish-German Catholic single woman who is a commercial illustrator for the Honeywell Corporation. Claims she knows little if anything about Indians.

Richard Garcia, 32, Mexican-American Catholic, married, five children. A telephone installer for Northwestern Bell Co. Had heard about the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee. Identifies Mexican-Americans as being Indian in origin. The only non-Caucasian in the jury.

Theola Dubois, 53, English-French-Irish single research analyst for State Highway Department of Minnesota. She knew of the Wounded Knee occupation and "never had the impression of (Gen. George A.) Custer being a hero." She felt Indians have been "very unjustly treated."

Katherine Valo, 20, Roman Catholic nurse's aide at a local nursing home who plans to become a Carmelite nun. She has no political affiliation, and has never heard of AIM or the Wounded Knee occupation.

Geraldine Nelsen, 43, Swedish-Polish Lutheran wife and mother of four children. Knew of Wounded Knee occupation and heard of top AIM leaders.

Computers and Medicine People

The defense team selected the jury by using a new technique pioneered by New York sociologist Jay Schulman. Its objective is to use tools of social science to help select the jury and then turn these tools to plotting trial strategy.

These tools include an extensive computer-linked survey that has established a demographic and attitude profile of the 400,000 registered voters in the St. Paul area eligible for jury duty. This profile enables defense lawyers to better weigh prospective jurors, to make sure that the final panel is, indeed, representative of the area.

In addition, says Schulman, the defense has "four people eyeballing the courtroom." These are anthropologists and psychologists, a kinesiologist who watches "body language" — the way people move and position themselves. There is Ralph Ware, a native man with a Ph.D. in psychology, and Phillip Deere, an Oklahoma medicine person of the Creek Nation.

—Don Getsug/National Observer photo

Jay Schulman . . . an effort to get a fair jury

"Perhaps the most astute observer we have is Deere," Schulman says. "Indians are much more astute than we are in picking up white attitudes towards Indians."

Traditionally, lawyers have picked jurors on guesswork and on such obvious factors as types of jobs, income, race, and education. Schulman is going beyond this. His techniques try to get at social attitudes: how jurors view authority, the role of the Government, religious values, deference to judges, how jurors will present themselves to others, how they will react with each other.

Schulman has used the process in other important trials. But he says this is the first time the clients have picked the jury using his technique. "That's great," he says, "because the clients have control over their own lives. The role of the medicine man was really quite incredible. We met from ten at night until three in the morning discussing prospective jurors, at which point the medicine man went home and did a ceremony. We had another meeting the next morning and he came in with a list of people who could not be on the jury. The extraordinary thing was that the people the medicine man wanted out were zapped by the Government."

To those who insist that Schulman's methods are "unfair" and "hamper justice," he replies that he just wants to make sure that the defense, as well as the government, has sophisticated methods, and that the whole thing is well within the law. In fact, Schulman has been accepted by Judge Nichol as part of the defense team, and he occupies a seat with them.

In fact, he was recently approached by attorneys for former U.S. Attorney General John Mitchell and former Secretary of Commerce Maurice Stans, currently on trial for conspiracy, obstruction of justice, and perjury. Schulman immediately declined, saying he wasn't for sale.

Another member of the team, Richard Christie, said he would be interested. "Even John Mitchell deserves a fair trial," he said. However, he set a condition that his fee would be turned over to the Wounded Knee Defense Committee. But Mitchell's lawyers called back to say the deal was off.

Would You Marry an Indian? Yes or No.

"Have you ever had difficulty in distinguishing persons of another race?" "Would you care to express what feelings you might have if your son or daughter were to begin dating an Indian of the opposite sex?" "Do you believe that the Government has broken any of its treaties with the Indians?"

These were some of the dozens of questions which were asked by Judge Nichol. He told panelists that some questions might be embarrassing to answer, but that it was important to try to find out the prejudices of prospective jurors. Nichol's list of questions was submitted by attorneys, and he rephrased them. There were 30 questions submitted by the prosecutors, and defense attorneys had 150. After going through 24 prospective jurors in the first two weeks, Judge Nichol's voice kept getting weaker and weaker.

Nichol questioned nearly 100 persons before the panel of 38 was ready for challenge. An additional panel of twelve was selected for a pool of alternates, and that number was reduced to six as defense and prosecution each eliminated three persons.

Those with obvious prejudices are dismissed by the court. The questioning continued until 38 jurors had been selected — and then the defense eliminated 20 and the prosecution six, leaving the panel of 12.

The court's questioning didn't elicit much hard-core bias against Indians. The line of questioning did, however, uncover a fairly widespread ignorance of the American Indian, native culture and American history. Few people knew, for example, that BIA stood for Bureau of Indian Affairs. Few knew why Wounded Knee was chosen as the site for the occupation. Many say their only knowledge of Indians is what they have seen on TV or at the movies. Most say they have no Indian friends, neighbors, or relatives, and they have never been on an Indian reservation or observed first-hand the lifestyle of Indians. Most people said they did not follow the news about the occupation of Wounded Knee and they did not know why the Indians decided to take such a step.

Fred Nichol . . . U.S. District Court Judge in court trying Means and Banks

Earlier in the trial, defense counsellors Kunstler and Mark Lane charged that 75 FBI agents had been busy screening prospective jurors. The FBI denied the charge, but Richard Hurd, U.S. prosecuting attorney from South Dakota admitted that the U.S. attorney's office in Minnesota had checked out some of the jurors.

The prosecution used its preemptory challenges to eliminate the lone black and the lone Indian who were in the final panel.

By the time final jury selection time came, the proceedings grew more rancorous, with sharp verbal exchanges between defense attorneys and Judge Nichol. A clash over a government challenge of a prospective juror on January 29 ended with Nichol accusing Kunstler and Lane of using the courtroom to make points with the press.

Nichol angrily shut off debate on the challenged juror, who was dismissed, and moved ahead on questioning of the final two persons. The dispute was over a 36-year-old man who told Nichol he was convicted of the felony of burglary 12 years ago, and was placed on probation for five years.

The judge cited a federal statute that forbids any convicted felon to serve on a jury unless the person has been granted a pardon or amnesty. Defense attorneys argued that since the man's other civil rights had been restored, he should be allowed to be a juror. However, the prosecution ended the argument by challenging the juror on the grounds he could not be objective and the man was dismissed.

Nichol seemed to be growing impatient with the defense motions. He had turned aside allegations that the FBI had tried to influence news coverage of the trial by visiting newspaper editors in the Twin Cities, and when he was informed of a defense lawsuit against the federal government asking that prosecutions be halted, his initial response to reporters was: "I don't even want to look at the damn thing." He was partly joking — but still, the feeling was there.

(Thanks to The Militant, Associated Press, Martin Waldron of the New York Times News Service, Liberation News Service, David W. Hacker of the National Observer, and American Indian Press Association.)

Opening Statements At Wounded Knee Trials

(After the jury was selected, the trial began with opening remarks outlining what the evidence would show. The United States made its statement first, then Russell Means, then Dennis Banks, who both chose to speak for themselves rather than to have an attorney do the job. These statements below are excerpts from the opening remarks.)

Richard Hurd, assistant U.S. Attorney, Sioux Falls, South Dakota: The evidence is going to show that these defendants together with their coconspirators, in order to attract public attention to claimed grievances and demands and to extort confessions from the United States with respect to such grievances and demands, decided to seize the community of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, by force of arms. Some of the other leaders of this takeover include Carter Camp, Stanley Holder, Clyde Bellecourt, and Pedro Bissonette.

Now on February 27, 1973, the community of Wounded Knee was a small community on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. . . Wounded Knee is a small village consisting of homes for families, three or four churches, a trading post, a museum, and a gas station. It is about 18 miles from the largest town in the Pine Ridge Reservation, Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

. . . When they arrived at Wounded Knee, several incidents, events, under the direction and leadership of these defendants and their coconspirators occurred. There was the breaking in of the trading post. The evidence will show that these people came into town shooting, they shot out street lights, they broke into the trading post, they broke into a post office portion of the trading post and looted that. They went up and seized the Catholic Church and they went into private homes and forced the people out of their homes and seized private homes. They shot at law enforcement officers with firearms. They shot at private citizens and effectuated the seizure and takeover of Wounded Knee, South Dakota.

The evidence is going to show that after they had accomplished the takeover of Wounded Knee, these defendants and their coconspirators caused a list of demands to be sent to the United States officials. These list of demands were signed by, among others, Russell Means.

. . . It went on to say that the actions on February 27, 1973, at 8:30 p.m., by the Oglala, Lakota, with the support and technical assitance of the American Indian Movement is taken because of the complete tyranny and suppression of the Oglala and American Indian people. The Bureau of Indian Affairs [it said] is responsible for the tyranny because of rampant graft, corruption, and outright dictatorship of Indian people.

. . . Now, because it was not known how many people were involved in the seizure of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, because law enforcement officers had been shot at, because it was known that hostages had been seized by the people taking over Wounded Knee, South Dakota, it was decided by the appropriate government officials to set up roadblocks around Wounded Knee, South Dakota, to stabilize the situation and these roadblocks were set up.

. . . The occupation continued and on May 8, 1973, it ended. The United States marshals and the BIA went in, and secured the Indians at Wounded Knee. . .Thank you.

Russell Means: [The 1868 Treaty] we will introduce in evidence, how it was continually abrogated illegally, and how it was continually violated by the United States Government, by the Congress and by the army, by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, by homesteaders. [According to Senator Sam Ervin] treaties are sacred legal binding documents entered into by the United States of America. They are ratified by Congress and proclaimed by the President. Treaties are on par and equal to the Constitution of the United States. Senator Sam Ervin said treaty law supercedes federal, state, and local laws. We will prove to you that the government, in its case against us, is trying to not only violate our treaty rights, again, but violate your Constitutional rights. . .

We will introduce evidence that David Long, the then vice-president of the puppet tribal government, myself, and Severt Young Bear, who is a district official, tribal official and an ex-councilman and a councilman now, how we went to the United States Attorney in November of 1972 and asked them, not once but three different times, for Mr. Clayton to intervene down on Pine Ridge because they, the tribal government, with its tribal court, issued restraining orders against myself that I could not attend meetings or religious events [or] gather with more than three people on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, a clear violation of the First, Fifth, and all kinds of other amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and we were refused by the United States Attorney. They said it is an internal matter of the tribe and we can't do anything about it, Mr. Clayton [one of the prosecuting attorneys].

— photo by Bannon

Russell Means . . . for the unborn

We will prove that the Oglala civil rights organization wrote letters [to] the President, and to Congress, about the depreciation of rights down there on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in 1972, and they went unanswered.

We will ask Senator Abourezk, who will testify to the police state that existed down there on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation. He said himself before his own Congressional Committee that the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation was being handled [like] Hitler's Germany. He said that can't be in this country, this great democracy of ours.

. . . We will prove to you that the man who works in the realty department for the BIA in the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, for the last 23 years, is now the largest single landowner on the Pine Ridge Reservation, or his sons and daughters. . .

We have a treaty that to us is very sacred. We have lived up to that treaty. In fact, we have continued to turn the other cheek too many times. We are going to ask the United States of America in this trial and in the future, beginning from yesterday, to live up to their own laws. If they can abrogate treaty rights, they can certainly abrogate the Constitution of the United States. . .

We ask, of course, for our treaty rights, and it is my sincere belief that if I do not have treaty rights then, my unborn and my children might as well right now become white people and forget, forget the traditional values and traditional ways, because if we don't have any treaty rights, we don't have any rights at all. . . Thank you.

Dennis Banks: . . . On February 27, I was called [to] a meeting at the Calico Community Center on the Oglala Reservation. . . Eleven out of twenty council men were there.

[Two Oglala women addressed their chiefs and headmen in their own language.] The plea they made to the American Indian Movement [was by] two women who were truly the real warriors of Indian society, who say their own sons dying on the reservation, who saw their own children dying on the way to the hospital . . . and they asked the Oglala Sioux chiefs, they asked the medicine men and the headsmen, they asked them where were the spirits of so long ago that made this [Oglala] nation great, where was that Indian spirit that the Oglala Sioux Nation so many years ago stood up against the United States Army, and these two women demanded an answer from the chiefs and those of us who were present [They] demanded to know if there were any Indians left in the United States, Indians who were descendants of those great Indian heroes of long ago, and she asked us if we were to allow another day to go by under the dictatorship of Wilson, . . . where were the Indian warriors that allow non-Indians to come to this reservation and dictate our lives? . . .

In my own mind, I remember not so many years ago another woman asking for assistance from the BIA — that was my mother, and how the BIA refused assistance, and how my mother died an alcoholic.

She had seen her own children being bused from the reservations, Leech Lake here in Minnesota, 280 miles to Pipestone, and I saw what these Oglala Sioux women were asking — how many more days, how many more hours can we take this? . . . How long does an Indian suffer under this kind of system? And I realized that there could only be one answer.

. . . These Oglala Sioux women only asked that the spirit — the fighting spirit — return, so that there would be no reason for Indian people to drink themselves to death, so that there'd be no reason for Indian youngsters to be slashing their wrists.

. . . These Oglala Sioux women were speaking for all Indian women. We'd reached a point in history where we could not tolerate that kind of abuse any longer, where these women, these parents, these mothers, couldn't tolerate the mistreatment that goes on on the reservations any longer. They could not see another Indian youngster die; they could not see another Indian man meet death, whether he was in Chicago or Nebraska or Buffalo Gap. . .

To do nothing after that would be a great sin.

. . . Wounded Knee represented to the Oglala Sioux and to Indian people all across the country that last desperate attempt to bring about justice.

Not only did Indians respond, not only did the Chippewas or the Potawatomies, or the Navajo or the Pueblo, or the Iroquois, not only did they respond, but people from all walks of life came to Wounded Knee. People came there because the Oglala Sioux women had cried loud enough and far enough so that her pleas were heard all across the planet. . .

What is so important at Wounded Knee is that Indians and non-Indians alike came together and created that last desperate attempt — an attempt to bring Indian heritage, Indian ideas, back.

. . . It was unfortunate that three Indians have died, but they died knowing that all of us at Wounded Knee and the people who called us to Wounded Knee will go to the Spirit World knowing that the unborn generation will be given that opportunity to live the live that they choose and not the life that somebody else dictates.

(While Dennis Banks was giving his opening statement, he started talking about how he had first visited the Pine Ridge Reservation at the time of the protest about the death of Raymond Yellow Thunder. U.S. Attorney Clayton objected, and his objection was sustained by Judge Nichol. Banks' attorney, Mark Lane, argued that the statement was relevant, and in the exchange the tension of the first day of the trial led to the following situation:

The Court: I don't want to sit here and listen to another argument. I am going to have to make some rulings and my ruling is this is inadmissible and that objection to that remark about what happened at Gordon is sustained. Please sit down.

Mr. Lane: Except the court —

The Court: Mr. Lane, I am going to ask you be removed from this office if you and Mr. Kunstler are going to keep taking exception to my rulings. You have been around court long enough to know in federal court you do not have to take exception [to lay the groundwork for an appeal.]

Mr. Kunstler: As defense counsel, we must do it.

The Court: Marshals, I am going to ask you to remove Mr. Lane and Mr. Kunstler from this courtroom until they can come back here and remember what I said to them before.

Mr. Kunstler: How can you do a thing like that? We are making an ordinary objection. I think you ought to —

The Court: Mr. Kunstler and Mr. Lane will be removed from this courtroom until the recess and we will see what happens after that.

Mr. Tilsen (defense team attorney): Could we approach the bench?

The Court: Do you want to be removed too?

Mr. Tilsen: Can we approach the bench?

The Court: No.

Mr. Tilsen: I do not believe the defendants can continue under these circumstances. I would like to discuss it. I think we have a right to have a discussion as to what our response is going to be right now.

The Court: Mr. Kunstler and Mr. Lane and Mr. Tilsen will be removed from the courtroom.

Mr. Lane: Our clients cannot go on in the absence of counsel.

The Court: Marshals, do you hear me?

Mr. Kunstler: They are going to have to remove me.

Mr. Hurd (asst. U.S. Attorney): Could I move at this time for a recess? It is almost time anyway.

Mr. Lane: Mr. Hurd is talking after the ruling. Is he going to have to be removed too? . . . Don't you push me, buddy.

The Court: There is an attorney left.

Mr. Banks: Leave him alone!

The Court: Mr. Banks, do you want to go out with him?

I will accept your request for a recess at this time, Mr. Hurd. The court will recess for fifteen minutes.

(After the recess, the Court spoke to the jury, which had witnessed the entire exchange.)

The Court: . . . I regret the incident that occurred here in the courtroom, or the necessity for it. I will say that in chambers, talking with counsel for both sides, I did learn that Mr. Lane's statement, in which he took exception, I must say, is different than my understanding of what he was taking exception to. . .

I hope that will clear the matter up. Let's proceed, then, with further statements by Mr. Banks . . .

The U.S.A. Presents Its Case

(Three kinds of activity happened in the trials in St. Paul. There was the selection of the jury, described on another page. There was a series of motions filed before the court – legal arguments for the judge to decide, and the jury was not present. And then there was the Government presenting its case to the jury. If the Government does present a case, and if the court does not rule for dismissal because of government misconduct, then the defense will have an opportunity to present its side of the case. This summary of the trials runs through March 25th.) (This page details testimony of witnesses called by the prosecution, the United States of America.)

The issues which Banks and Means want heard have to do with the treaty, the grievances, the oppression at Pine Ridge. The issues which the U.S. wants heard are criminal charges – guilty, or not guilty.

The ten-count federal indictment includes these charges:

– breaking into trading post (larceny) on the first night of the occupation. A total of 28 known individuals are named, including all AIM leaders.

– theft of trading post items (burglary), with a long list of things stolen, including one autobiography of General George A. Custer, a bow and two arrows, saddles, and a stock of firearms.

– assault on FBI agent Joanne Pierce with a dangerous weapon on March 8, at a roadblock north of Wounded Knee. Means is charged as the individual who "aided, abetted, counseled, commanded or induced the commission of the crime."

– preparing trenches and bunkers (obstructing agents in performance of duties). Means and 11 other men are charged with slowing down the operations of the BIA, interstate commerce, FBI, Justice Department, postal service, and protection of personal liberties of citizens by the entrenchments dug in fields around Wounded Knee.

– creation of armed roadblocks, charges Means and 12 others with blocking roads, thereby interfering with agents in their work of quelling a civil disorder.

– burning of trading post vehicles (arson): Means and other unknown persons are charged with setting fire to three pickups and one passenger cars belonging to the trading post owners.

– possession of destructive devices (having unauthorized firearms): Means and four others, including a young Pueblo woman, are charged with possessing Molotov cocktails near the bunkered areas. Means is charged with "constructive possession."

– stealing a trading post auto (theft of motor vehicle): Means and four others are charged with stealing a gray 1970 Dodge belonging to trading post owner Clive Gildersleeve.

– criminal conspiracy: Means and other AIM leaders are charged with "combining, conspiring, confederating and agreeing" to commit all the acts contained in all other charges.

– wounding of federal agents (assault on federal officers): Means and unknown others are charged with "assaulting and wounding" FBI special agent Curtis Fitzgerald on March 11, and U.S. Marshal Lloyd H. Grimm on March 26.

****

To support its argument that the U.S. was legally on the reservation to suppress the occupation, the prosecution entered into evidence a petition dated February 9, 1973, from tribal council president Dick Wilson, requesting a court order from tribal court judge Theodore Tibbetts requesting federal assistance. The order Tibbetts issued four days later was also entered.

Attorneys for the defense argued that both the petition and tribal order were illegal, as according to the tribal constitution and bylaws, the full tribal council would be needed to make such a request. In addition, the petition may be a fraud in that Ivy Goings, clerk of the tribal council's court, admitted that the first she saw of the petition was a month ago when it was given to her by Tibbetts. An FBI agent had reported last summer that he had been unable to find the petition.

At the end of the court session, U.S. attorneys approached the court and told Judge Nichol that they were withdrawing the petition from evidence.

Both defense and prosecution were directed by Nichol to submit briefs concerning a contention by the defense that marshals were on the reservation in violation of the tribe's by-laws and constitution.

Also on the third day of the testimony, the 1868 Sioux Treaty became an issue for the first time during the cross-examination of Clarence Nelson, a BIA official at Pine Ridge. Nelson had been introduced to show that Russell Means was an Indian, according to tribal records, and to introduce a map of the reservation. The defense attempted to show that the reservation is only a small part of the land set aside under the treaty.

To buttress its contention that the occupation force at Wounded Knee was the aggressor in gunfire exchanges, the prosecution called two FBI agents to the stand to tell how they were fired on from the grass by a few persons who rode to the eastern perimeter of the village in an old car.

Stephen Travis, of the Kansas City, Missouri, FBI office, related this sequence of events the night of Feb. 27 and early the following morning. He said he was among more than a dozen FBI agents, U.S. marshals, and BIA policemen who gathered on a paved road south of Wounded Knee after word spread there had been shooting in the village.

Shortly after dawn, he, agent Frank McGinn, and two BIA officers drove in two cars to a hill about a mile or more east of Wounded Knee. At daybreak, a 1959 Chevrolet was driven from Wounded Knee toward the hill – three or four persons got out and the car disappeared behind a small hill. Within a few minutes, Travis said, they received gunshot, which they returned soon after receiving permission from the FBI command post.

The Government's 7th and 8th witnesses were BIA policemen Wayne Romero and Virgil Randall who were on duty together the night of February 27th, the evening the occupation began.

Attorneys for the defense tried to establish that both men were part of the goon squad which had terrorized the reservation, but Judge Nichol sustained prosecution objections. Questioning of Romero revealed that although he has lived on the reservation most of his life that he knows nothing of the Sun Dance and had never heard of the Sacred Pipe.

Randall took the stand at the end of the day wearing dark sunglasses. He was shown a roster of the goon squad containing Randall's name. Randall confirmed he had seen the paper "floating around" but denied any knowledge of any goon squad or vigilante group and didn't know why his name was on the roster.

Lane, in an attempt to impeach the government witness, asked Randall why he had been transferred from Pine Ridge to Winnebago, Nebraska. "Were you," Lane asked, "transferred because you shot and killed Little Spotted Horse, an Oglala, and because you shot your brother Wayne Randall in the leg and because you struck a pregnant woman, Mary Burns Prairie, in the stomach with your billy-club, causing her to miscarry?"

Prosecuting attorney Hurd jumped to his feet, too speechless to say anything. Judge Nichol was shouting, "Mr. Lane! Mr. Lane!"

"You should be severely chastised for asking a question like that," Nichol admonished. Nichol told Randall he didn't have to answer the question because of possible violation of his constitutional rights against self-incriminsation.

Lane protested: "Your honor, we're not making this stuff up."

Nichol told Lane to sit down. "I'm not going to permit you to continue. You have abused the rights of counsel in this courtroom." When other defense attorneys protested the ruling, he added, "Mr. Lane, I'm getting sick and tired of the manner in which you're operating in this courtroom."

Kunstler protested that Nichol's remark left the jury with the impression that Mr. Lane has done something "terrible". "I think he did," Nichol rejoined.

Nichol acknowledged that the cross-examination of witnesses by defense attorneys was "driving me up the wall."In three weeks of testimony, the jury has heard only eight witnesses, all of them called merely to set the scene. However, defense attorneys have cross-examined each exhaustively.

"If this kind of cross-examination keeps on," Nichol complained, "we'll be here a year." The Government side alone has said it may call 100 to 150 witnesses. Kunstler said he felt it was the government which was delaying things. "We've had eight witnesses so far, and not one criminal act has been described."

The following day, Lane was permitted to resume his line of questioning. Randall denied knowing anything about Little Spotted Horse, his brother being shot, or any other violence. After court, defense attorneys said that they would present witnesses when their turn in court came up who would dispute Randall's claims.

The prosecution brought to the stand three witnesses to testify to the location of roadblocks and houses in Wounded Knee as shown on the government maps to be used as exhibits. But the last witness, Jerry Brennan, ended up by saying the maps had "glaring inaccuracies" and the map showing houses in Wounded Knee was not received in evidence.

The 12th witness for the Government was Merrill Sherer, another FBI agent who told of trailing a caravan of cars moving slowly from Calico Hall to Wounded Knee. Cross-examination revealed that Sherer saw nothing illegal in the caravan.

The next government witness was Gary Thomas, a former lawyer for the only legal aid office on the Pine Ridge Reservation. As it turned out, however, his evidence seemed more useful to the defense. Thomas told how he lost his job the day following the occupation.

"I saw Mr. Wilson on the 28th," he recalled. "He said I had ten to twelve hours to leave the reservation or I would be killed." Thomas added that Wilson had pushed him and that his breath smelled of booze. He said he had lodged complaints with the FBI right after the incident, but apparently no action was taken.

Wilson had been upset, apparently, because Thomas had been with Russell Means on the afternoon of the 27th. Means and Thomas were assaulted by a group of five men, allegedly part of the goon squad. The men had filed complaints, but the action was dismissed.

* * * * * * * *

–Associated Press
A Militant Grandmother at St. Paul Federal Building

In the fourth day of testimony, February 15, a BIA employee testified that the fire truck he was driving into Wounded Knee was hit by two shotgun blasts on February 27, the evening the occupation began.

John Joseph Hardey said he saw an unidentified figure in the doorway of a building in Wounded Knee, then saw a flash and heard a shot hit the left side of the fire truck. Another shot shattered the right window.

"Let's get the hell out of here," Hardey quoted another fireman as saying. He was only questioned by prosecution attorneys, and the defense will cross-examine him later.

Another witness was undercover FBI agent Stanley Keel. During cross-examination, defense attorney Kunstler tried to discredit his testimony by focusing on apparent contradictions between Keel's court testimony, and statements in a report he wrote for the FBI.

In one exchange, for instance, Kunstler noted that Keel testified that AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt was at a Rapid City, South Dakota, native community center – yet his FBI report written two days after the day in question made no mention of Bellecourt's presence.

Kunstler also challenged Keel's mention in an FBI report that he saw 6 to 8 cased shoulder-type weapons in an AIM office. In court, though, he could only say that he had seen cases, and didn't know if they contained weapons or not.

Keel said he was 7/16ths Chickasaw. While he had feigned an "Indian appearance" when he was a spy for the FBI on AIM activities, when he came to court he was wearing a brown suit, and a bushy moustache, to go with his shoulder-length hair. AIM people recall that when he first showed up at Rapid City on February 21, he had a green ski jacket and brown pants.

He described a meeting he attended that night at the Mother Butler Center in Rapid City. He said Dennis Banks introduced Means as "the next chief of the Oglalas", and that Means had urged the impeachment of Dick Wilson. The Rev. Richard Bates, director of the Catholic center, asserted that the church would not stand for racial discrimination.

Keel testified he had a college degree in mathematics at East Central State College in Ada, Oklahoma. He told the court that Vernon Bellecourt of AIM had said that AIM would take over Pine Ridge, and then move on to Arizona and Oklahoma for more militant demonstrations.

Keel said that much of his information on AIM had come from a person known to him as Red Blanket, alleged to be an alcoholic or mentally ill, over beer bought by Keel and another agent, one "Stephenson."

New Jersey is where Keel is regularly posted by the FBI.

Charles Stephenson identified himself as being one-sixteenth Cherokee on his father's side. He works out of the Des Moines, Iowa, FBI office. Questioning by Kunstler drew out an admission that the pair had failed to report to superiors that they had been spotted by undercover agents almost from the moment of their arrival. A group of 25 to 30 persons gathered around them in the Catholic center as AIM security aide Bernardo Escamilla put questions to them, and they were banned from further entry into AIM gatherings. Stephenson had used the alias of "Charlie Lightfoot."

The agents had aroused suspicion of AIM security people when Stephenson offered Russell Means explosives – Means had immediately turned him down.

Stephenson also quoted Bill Means, Russell's brother, about plans for violence, but he was unable to identify Bill Means who was sitting in the spectators' section of the courtroom.

(Thanks to Greg Cornell of the Militant, Martin Waldron of the New York Times, Terry Wolkerstorfer, Randy Furst, and John Carman of the Minneapolis Star, and the Associated Press for information used here.)

F.B.I. I'm Not Your Indian Anymore, Either

(As the trial began, Judge Nichol seemed calm and impartial. As the defense attorneys tried to establish the political nature of the trial and to detail the harassment and persecution they had experienced, Judge Nichol had become exasperated and sharply critical. However, a series of events arising from the testimony of Father Paul Manhart indicated that the court, as well as the defense, was being hampered by underhanded methods of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. From that point on, Judge Nichol has reserved his sharpest attack for the FBI. The sequence of events is detailed here below:)

Father Paul Manhart, pastor of the Sacred Heart Church in Wounded Knee, was to have been a routine witness, but he inadvertedly opened up a whole can of worms which would leave the Federal Bureau of Investigation almost completely discredited in the eyes of the court.

Manhart began the model of impartiality, but he had to return day after day for five days, and he was confronted with a number of things which eroded his apparent lack of interest. He testified that he saw the "striking" sight of the long caravan driving into Wounded Knee, and that shortly afterwards, a group of people entered the church. On the orders of Russell Means, he said, he was taken to the basement and tied up. With the exception of being tied up, no harm was done him. He was offered food, he said, which he refused, and was given blankets and a pillow to sleep in.

When Manhart talked about his work, he said it wasn't "missionary work" since most of the Indians on the reservation were already Christians. Defense questions regarding the relationship of the church to the mass grave of the victims of the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890 were objected to by the prosecution.

The prosecution was embarrassed when Manhart said the AIM members had occupied Wounded Knee against the wishes of the residents. He also happened to mention that he gave no interviews to the press during his stay in the trading post area during the seizure.

But when the defense produced a CBS videotape interview with him, Manhart's credibility was diminished. He had told the CBS reporters, "These are my people – we do not feel that we are in any position that we would have to leave."

The U.S. showed Manhart a petition. He said it had been passed around at a meeting on March 2, 1973, attended by a few people, and that some signatures were forgeries.

The court ordered the FBI to locate the original petition, for the copy produced in court was revealed to be a photocopy. A second document was produced, which also proved to be doctored, and finally, an exasperated Judge Nichol was shown the original document.

The final petition showed signatures of over 100 residents of Wounded Knee, and stated in part that: "It is resolved that the U.S. Department of Justice and their agents and their servants cease and desist from firing upon our guest members of AIM . . . who are here at our invitation." The U.S. has long maintained that AIM was a band of rowdies unwanted at Wounded Knee.

Nichol has already accused the Government of being "at the very least seriously negligent." This negligence includes lying, tampering with evidence, threats against the defendants and witnesses and other harassments, which, the judge warned, could mean "dismissal of the whole case."

An irate Judge Nichol took the unusual step of impounding all FBI files pertaining to the case, and ordered that with the files under court custody, defense attorneys could have access to them. Nichol himself toured the FBI office in Minneapolis to see the documents, and found there were 315,981 serially-numbered papers, some up to 600 pages in length. The files occupy whole rooms and would take years to read.

The extent of the files indicates that there has been massive surveillance of the American Indian Movement for sometime before Wounded Knee.

Nichol's order impounding the files, and his chagrin at the FBI was based on the fact that a federal court order issued last October, mandating the Government to give the defense all relevant documents it possessed, had not been honored.

Also, in response to the court order, the U.S. Department of Justice, in a letter signed by Carl W. Belcher, chief of the General Crimes Section, assured the U.S. Attorneys handling the prosecution that the defendants were "not the subjects of direct electronic surveillance nor were any of their conversations monitored by any electronic device."

Judge Nichol said he was "tempted to dismiss if only for my health's sake," but added he was "aware of my responsibilities." He accused the FBI of withholding and distorting evidence. "I used to think the FBI was one of the greatest bureaus that ever came down the pike," the federal judge said. "But I think that it has deteriorated, and I don't care how many FBI agents are in the court listening to me – I think it has deteriorated."

Nichol later said his criticisms had been "intemperate," perhaps, but he declined to retract them.

Joseph Trimbach, area FBI director, wished Nichol would make a retraction. Clarence Kelly, director of the FBI in Washington, was clearly unhappy with the tarnish his agency had acquired, and Trimbach was dispatched to Judge Nichol's private chambers for a conference. In the course of the conversation, Trimbach assured the judge that there had been no illegal wiretapping or electronic surveillance.

Trimbach said Kelly was very disturbed by the attacks on the FBI – their hands were clean in this case, he said, despite revelations of FBI misdoings in other prominent cases. For the first time, the FBI hadn't done any wiretapping, he said – that's why they were so upset.

In a conference with both sets of attorneys, Nichol related the details of the meeting with Trimbach. The defense thought differently about the wiretaps, and requested a court order. Served with a new supoena, the Government came in with an admission that not even the U.S. Attorneys had been told – they had overheard conversations. Furthermore, the memos indicated that FBI agents had personally told Trimbach about the wiretaps, and that Trimbach himself had issued instructions for actions based on wiretapped evidence.

The defense also supoened Joe Pourier, manager of the Bison State Telephone Company in Pine Ridge. Judge Nichol ordered that Pourier be given immunity from prosecution. Nichol also told the prosecution to tell Attorney General William Saxbe in Washington that if Pourier was not granted immunity, Nichol would stop the trial.

When Pourier came to the stand, he told the court that he not only knew of the wiretap, but that he had installed it himself on instructions of Tommy Hudson, the administrator for the massive U.S. Marshal Service force at Pine Ridge. FBI agents relaxed when they heard this evidence implicating the Marshals Service, rather than the FBI – but tensed up again when it was revealed that the operation of the tap had been solely FBI at one of its roadblocks.

The Government insisted that while it was true that the telephone had been installed, there had been no surveillance. But then quite by accident, Phyllis Fastwolf, an Oglala who lives in Chicago, happened to be in St. Paul, and was able to testify that she had tried to get into Wounded Knee on March 6, and had been taken to the FBI roadblock and into a government van where she heard the voice of Dennis Banks talking over a loudspeaker. [She had told the roadblock that she was a Wilson supporter and wanted to go into Wounded Knee to get her daughter out of there.]

The *Minneapolis Tribune* reported that the FBI had tried to "persuade" Pourier not to testify about the wiretap. FBI agent David Price visited the telephone employee March 12, and tried to intimidate him.

"He wanted to know who paid for it and who told me to do it," Pourier said. "I told him to ask me when I get on the witness stand."

How Pourier came to be a witness is a story in itself. Last October 17, when Pedro Bissonette was killed by BIA police, attorney Mark Lane went to the hospital to see the wounds on Pedro's body. There he talked with Pourier, who had been a good friend of Pedro. Pourier had also been a strong supporter of the Wilson administration – he held one of the best jobs on the reservation as phone company manager.

But the death of his friend at the hands of the police changed him very much. As he and Lane worked together to investigate the shooting, he related how he had installed the phone into Wounded Knee at the direction of the U.S. – and the "extension line" to the roadblock.

(continued on next page)

Ironically, the goon squad couldn't understand why the Government wanted to give the occupation force a telephone, and kept shooting out the line. It was Pourier who was called time after time to restore the phone to good service so that the Government ears could listen.

The defense charged that the bugging violated the right of attorney-client confidentiality, for at least six defense lawyers talked with their clients over the tapped line after they received assurances from the Justice Department that the line was clear. That meant the FBI heard defense strategies in cases now scheduled for trial in Sioux Falls, Custer, and elsewhere, as well as St. Paul.

The defense also had, as the result of very clever detective work on the part of WKLDOC investigators, invoices for emergency purchases made at the Radio Shack in Rapid City on Sunday, March 4, marked "for Indian case", of over $2,000 worth of electronic equipment. Pourier testified that the equipment was of a type which would be required for and useful to wiretapping.

Now it was Trimbach's turn to be on the stand. He was asked if he had been completely candid when he had assured defense attorneys that there had been no wiretapping. The prosecution objected to the question.

Judge Nichol sat on the edge of his seat, and in this dramatic moment said, "No, that's overruled — I really want to hear the answer to the question."

Trimbach was asked if he had told the judge there had been no wiretapping. He said that while he and the judge spoke of many things, "we didn't talk of wiretapping."

Judge Nichol swallowed hard at that one. During a recess, he discussed the situation with both prosecution and defense attorneys. What was he to do — call himself as a witness in his own courtroom to refute the evidence of the area director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation? Finally, it was decided to have the prosecution stipulate that there had been, in fact, a conversation about wiretapping between Trimbach and the judge.

Perhaps most damaging, on March 19 the FBI was forced to release two memorandums on conversations recorded from the Wounded Knee phone. One conversation was between defendant Dennis Banks and entertainer Dick Cavett, to whom Banks was appealing for a special TV show on the occupation.

Similar illegal surveillance led to the dismissal of charges against Daniel Ellsberg last spring in the Pentagon Papers case. The judge threw out the charges on the basis of "government misconduct."

Judge Nichol has pointed out that wiretapping "happens to be a felony" if done without a court order.

Nichol ordered the FBI to turn over to the defense tapes of all the wiretapping. Confidential defense information is that there is at least 100 hours of conversation on tape.

As the trial moved into the last week of March, the FBI had submitted only about 20 hours of tape. What Judge Nichol was going to say when he finds out about further misbehavior of the FBI is only speculation as this issue goes to the printer — but if Watergate cases could have so much excitement over 18½ minutes of missing tape, what would the courts say about 83 hours of missing tape on Wounded Knee?

Also, on March 6, six of the twelve jurors told the court that they had received John Birch Society literature branding the Wounded Knee occupation as a Communist conspiracy. Nichol ordered an investigation to find out who had sent the literature and to lay grounds for possible charges of jury tampering.

About the same time that the FBI was receiving these knocks in St. Paul, Attorney General William Saxbe honored a court order and released seven documents detailing the FBI's role in disrupting the Black Panther Party, Socialist Workers Party, and various unnamed Black nationalist groups. While there was no mention of native group activities, the scope of the documents was 1961 to 1970, before the American Indian Movement was of serious concern to "national security."

The memos, from the late FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover, called on FBI agents across the country to "expose, disrupt" and "otherwise neutralize" the groups and individuals.

One document instructs, "No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence technique the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible, an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations." Another goal was to "prevent militant groups from gaining respectability by discrediting them to three segments of the community."

The continuity in the FBI's role into the native struggle seems apparent. It was for similar reasons that defense attorneys filed with Judge Nichol all the papers filed with the court which tried the Daniel Ellsberg/Pentagon Papers case. There was a remarkable similarity to the evidence emerging in St. Paul: electronic surveillance of lawyers and clients, intimidation of witnesses, withholding of evidence, and fabrication of documents or the furnishing of false documents. And yet it is Dennis Banks and Russell Means who are on trial for "obstructing federal agents in the performance of their duties."

A similar dilemma that Ellsberg faced is also actively discussed in St. Paul. Ellsberg in many ways wanted the trial to continue, so that he could establish beyond a doubt that he was right in releasing the Pentagon Papers so that the citizens of the United States would be informed about their Government. But he could also press for dismissal and win surefire freedom, on grounds of Government misconduct.

The AIM people went to Wounded Knee for a purpose and want the trials to prove the Treaty of 1868 is operative — and yet there is now the opportunity to press for dismissal because of the FBI activities. It was no coincidence that Daniel Ellsberg was invited to St. Paul to address a massive symposium in AIM chapter headquarters. His recommendation: take the dismissal, and bank on public opinion to return a verdict of not guilty.

As the week drew to a close, the prosecution tried to introduce in evidence the testimony of Mr. and Mrs. Orville Lansbury, self-proclaimed missionaries for the Church of God, whose residence was burned near the end of the occupation. Nichol ruled the testimony was out of order because the damage could not be connected to the defendants on trial.

(Thanks to Martin Bunzl and the Guardian, Liberation News Service, and Baxter Smith of the Militant and other friends for information used here.)

odds & ends

The WKLDOC team has been hard-pressed to match the seemingly-infinite resources of the prosecution, the United States of America. It's not just the costs of lawyers, because most WKLDOC lawyers have been donating their services. Money is needed, though, for investigations, secretaries, office space, transportation, and other support services.

So, in mid-January, the WKLDOC petitioned the government, saying their clients were indigent, that the committee had been receiving contributions only in the amount of $5,000 or so for the whole month of December, and that they were all otherwise penniless.

Federal regulations permit up to four attorneys as much as $1,000, but that would be gobbled up even before jury selection was over. Larger amounts can be approved by the area Circuit Court of Appeals chief judge under the Criminal Justice Act. Finally, Nichol was able to approve remuneration for four defense attorneys for however long the case might take.

Ken Tilsen, for instance, had not only been working free, but had put about $3,000 of his own money into defense expenses — now, however, the committee can begin to do some of the things which the U.S. is able to do in building up its case. It all came just in time: the WKLDOC had $316.99 in the bank when the petition was filed.

James Abdnor, Congressman from South Dakota, immediately renewed his Birchite charges that the U.S. Government was, in fact, funding AIM, and encouraging revolution and destruction

Ramon Roubideaux, AIM attorney from Rapid City, countered that Abdnor was fanning "the fires of racism and bigotry in order to curry favor with the South Dakota public to win votes, counting on his view that the majority of South Dakota voters were bigoted like himself."

The defense attorneys complained bitterly January 23 that the security arrangements in the courthouse were an outrageous assault on the fair-trial principle, but Judge Nichol said the complaints were just a "big fuss."

Ken Tilsen rose to tell Nichol that he was tired of emptying his pockets, being searched, and passing through a metal-detection device to get into the courthouse. Marshals also conduct further searches in front of the seventh-floor courtroom. Mark Lane added that he believed the federal government was using the security process to suggest to prospective jurors that Banks and Means and their associates were dangerous criminals.

FROM THE ST. PAUL TRIAL

A behind-the-scenes figure at the St. Paul trial is Johnny West, a handsome debonair actor normally found working before television and movie cameras. In Los Angeles, West flies his plane, drives a Continental, and plays tennis and golf.

In St. Paul, he works at a fast pace to help his brother, Dennis Banks. "Johnny West" is his professional name — his real name is Mark Banks.

He came here at Dennis' invitation in December "for a few days" and has remained since. He has remained a nameless public relations man, working in the background. He says he gave up a chance for the lead role in a new television series as an Indian detective.

"I believe in what they are doing here. I have such tremendous admiration for my brother — so I asked myself, 'How can I leave?' " And he has stayed.

Now he works 12 to 16 hours a day in the WKLDOC office, and often sleeps on the floor in the St. Paul AIM headquarters. (Associated Press)

On January 25, WKLDOC defense attorneys filed an injunctive lawsuit against U.S. President Nixon and seven other federal, state, and tribal officials. The complaint asked an injunction prohibiting prosecution on Wounded Knee charges, saying the current cases were only intended to destroy, inhibit, harass, impede, deter and otherwise curtail AIM activities.

The suit, which would be heard by a three-man panel of the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, said that if the order is not granted, then the court should order a halt to prosecutions in other areas until the Means-Banks trial is concluded. It said that the trials have now been scheduled to exhaust AIM's resources and to deprive other plaintiffs of the crucial testimony of persons who were on trial elsewhere and thus could not act as defense witnesses.

Nixon and the other federal officials, the suit alleged, had instituted and maintained "a reign of terror, including but not limited to murder, mayhem, assault, bribery, extortion, intimidation, and other acts of physical and psychic violence" on the Pine Ridge reservation.

A bizarre note entered the trial when Judge Nichol recessed the court so the two defendants could help set up a food distribution plan demanded by the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA), the kidnappers of Patricia Hearst, daughter of newspaper magnate Randolph Hearst.

The SLA had asked that AIM act as a mediary in the ransom, along with several other groups unpopular with the U.S. Government. AIM proposed the food distribution program, but Dennis Banks announced that AIM "took the immediate position that we don't go along with the kidnapping . . . A flow of blood will not be accepted by AIM. We were drawn into this unwillingly, but we accepted with the hope we can save a life."

Banks said that he had 13 children, including some girls, and that at this time, Patricia Hearst "is everyone's daughter." He said he hoped she was all right and that "everything will be safe."

A special hearing was held during the course of the trial over a controversial letter written by Carter Camp and intended as an internal communication for discussion among AIM leaders about ways to strengthen the organization.

The letter never reached AIM offices. It had been written while Camp was in jail, and had been carried by another member of AIM to her apartment in Rapid City for forwarding. However, the letter was discovered by the owner of the apartments, who called the FBI.

The owner of the apartments, Mrs. Margaret Jenner, didn't have far to go to locate the FBI — they were living in the apartment next door to the one rented by the WKLDOC. She testified that the FBI men, with whom she was on first-name terms, had asked her to keep an eye on the Wounded Knee people and to let them know anything interesting. She kept them informed of mail received by the Wounded Knee group, and identified from photographs people who went in and out of the apartment.

The mysterious appearance of the letter fueled AIM paranoia, and angry charges were levelled that Camp was a federal agent, and would be a star witness for the prosecution. The split which had emerged in AIM last summer over the shooting of AIM leader Clyde Bellecourt, and which had been peacefully resolved, came to bear again.

WOUNDED KNEE TRIALS...
SIOUX FALLS S.D., BILLINGS MONTANA.

In Sioux Falls, there are 127 "non-leadership cases," as the Government puts it. On February 4, the first four people had their charges dismissed at the request of the Government. They were Francis Killer, Lessanes Killer, Evelyn Deon, and Cheyenne Nichols, all Oglalas from Pine Ridge.

The government requested the dismissal of charges on the grounds that it was unable to identify the government agent who drove the people from the roadblocks where they were seized to the Pine Ridge jail.

The defense thought otherwise. "We know better than to believe that the Government, after one year, would reverse its course of bad-faith prosecution," said Roger Finzel of the WKLDOC. He felt the U.S. had made the move to get at two out-of-state supporters as the first targets of its prosecution to help fuel the myth that the occupation group were all "outsiders."

The pair, Mary Ann DeCora, an 18-year-old Winnebago from Sioux City, Iowa, and Vaughn Dix Baker, a 25-year-old Sioux from Fort Peck, Montana, had conspiracy charges dropped by the Government on February 11, leaving only charges of burglary and larceny.

As Vaughn Baker said when his case was dismissed by the U.S. in Sioux Falls, "I am hurt. I think the U.S. Government, by letting us off, did not give us an opportunity to reach the 1868 Treaty, which we are going to stand on because our grandfathers were thinking of us when they signed the treaty. If the treaty were recognized, we would not be judged by this court – we would have our own courts."

But then Judge Warren Urbom of Nebraska, who was one of a number of judges brought in to help try the massive number of cases, ruled in favor of a defense motion to suppress the evidence, reaffirming the reckless abandon with which the Government cracked down on the occupation group from the beginning.

After the court's decision, the Government announced that it would drop the conspiracy charge in the next scheduled round of cases against Madonna Gilbert, Lorelei DeCora Means, and Tonia Ackerman. The five defendants had been arrested on February 27 while travelling in two cars on the road to Wounded Knee.

If the Government proceeds with burglary and larceny charges against them, it will be with a judge alone, for the defendants waived their right to a jury trial in recognition of the virtual impossibility of obtaining a fair and impartial jury in highly-prejudiced South Dakota.

As is the case in St. Paul, teams of marshals have created a climate of hostility by searches, use of electronic sensors, leaving no doubt by all who enter the courthouse that the cases are highly political.

Sixteen of the United States' most experienced criminal lawyers, who have volunteered through the National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers, have been working with WKLDOC people on the defense of the Sioux Falls defendants. One of the philosophical problems to be ironed out was the conflict between individual criminal defense and mass political defense. The defendants went to Wounded Knee with a purpose in mind, and if that purpose becomes lost in the technicalities of the trials, their efforts will have been in vain, they feel.

The NACDL made its commitment to help after one member, Robert Heeney of Rockville, Maryland, went to Rapid City area to survey the situation. During the course of his visit, he witnessed the Custer, South Dakota, court arbitrarily assign local counsel to defendants without notice, his Rapid City hotel room was surveilled and searched by federal agents, and harassment was at a high pitch on the reservation.

One of the first motions filed in Sioux Falls was to delay the trials until the St. Paul trial was over, since Russell Means and Dennis Banks were needed as defense witnesses. The motion was denied by Judge Andrew Bogue the same day of the argument.

Also filed was a suit to enjoin the prosecution from denying the plaintiffs, members of the American Indian Movement, from rights and liberties, and seeking $25,000 damages for each plaintiff. Named as defendants were U.S. President Richard Nixon, Attorney-General William Saxbe, U.S. Attorney William Clayton, South Dakota Governor Richard Kneip, special state prosecutor William Janklow, Pine Ridge Tribal Council President Dick Wilson, and tribal prosecutor Sidney Witt. The range of defendants gives some indication of the depth of the conspiracy believed by AIM members to exist against them.

The plaintiffs claim the officials with "the intent and design to destroy, inhibit, harass, impede, deter, and otherwise curtail activities and purposes", violated their rights by causing bad-faith indictments; scheduling trials which "exhaust or dissipate" the available legal resources and deprive plaintiffs of crucial testimony; instituting a reign of terror on the reservation and against the defense camp, and causing prejudicial security and publicity during the St. Paul trials.

A third motion would compel the government to produce evidence favorable to the accused.

When the WKLDOC was in Rapid City, it found that wherever it located its offices, the FBI moved in next door. The not-so-cordial neighborliness was renewed in Sioux Falls. When the trials were moved to that city in the eastern part of the state, the defense team established headquarters on Minnesota Street – and shortly afterwards, the FBI moved into its new offices which coincidentally were right across the street.

But even while the Government was finding its cases falling apart in courts, new people were still being arrested. On January 21, 17 more persons were arraigned on various charges arising from the occupation of Wounded Knee. Some were held in jail – Louis Moves Camp, for instance, was unable to raise the $5,000 bond.

Other trials are taking place elsewhere in the U.S. for Wounded Knee-connected events, including tribal court in Pine Ridge. In Phoenix, Arizona, for instance, a federal grand jury indictment named several persons for "Communist-spy-type meetings" to obtain foreign guns.

In Custer, AIM member David Hill had his case remanded back to state court after a move to obtain federal jurisdiction of the case failed. The motion had been made when two men who had worked closely with the defense lawyers announced that they had taken employment with the prosecution, the Attorney General of South Dakota.

* * * * * * * *

Tulsa, Oklahoma – On the anniversary of the occupation of Wounded Knee, a rally was held here to remember the deaths of Frank Clearwater, Larry Lamont, Pedro Bissonette who died at Pine Ridge, and also Junior Goodchief, Larry Casuse, Willard Brown and others who have died in native struggles over the last year.

Speakers included Carter Camp, Stan Holder, Phillip Deer, Martha Grass, and spiritual ceremonies were held the following day in a tipi erected in the Tulsa Civic Center plaza.

Tulsa was uptight about the rally because AIM leaders had asked city officials to fly the United States flag upside down as a signal of a nation in distress. The officials refused, and posted ten city police and U.S. marshals to guard the Civic Center flagpole. Undaunted, those at the rally flew another flag of their own upside down beneath the black, yellow, and red banner of AIM.

At least eight other riot-equipped officers were out of public view, but kept watch. A plain-clothes officer took pictures of the rally from behind a curtained window.

An elderly man walked past the civic center, and was overheard saying, "Isn't it a shame what they're doing to our flag? The police ought to do something about it." But police chief Jack Purdie said that there were no violations of the law.

At a press conference, Carter Camp said police officers had been beating and harassing Indians in Pryor and Tahlequah, Oklahoma, because they are AIM supporters. He said that if necessary, AIM would take action in those cities. Ben Hyatt, Tulsa area AIM spokesman, detailed talks AIM has had with local officials, FBI, and the Justice Department about the harassment, but said there had been no results.

Tulsa, Camp said, "is the most racist city in the most racist state in the Union."

U.S. DROPS CHARGES IN MONTANA CASE OVER FOOD CARRIED TO WOUNDED KNEE

On May 6, 1973, Aubrey Muir, a San Francisco high school teacher, and Barbara Michel, an organizer for the United Farm Workers in the Bay area, were arrested near Ashland in southeastern Montana. They were charged with violating the Rap Brown Act.

The grand jury which indicted them said that they "did travel in interstate commerce with intent to aid or abet any persons participating in or carrying on a riot then existing at Wounded Knee, by delivering food and medical supplies."

There wasn't much news in the Montana papers about the arrests – the *Billings Gazette*, the only newspaper in the city where the case was heard, and a publication which usually takes patriotic delight in finding stories concerning radicals, Indians, and similar un-American debris, relegated most of the few stories it did on the Ashland arrests to the back pages. All other Montana newspapers maintained a discreet silence.

The criminal defendants were carrying such items as baby food, penicillin, powdered milk. The two had volunteered to deliver the supplies, gathered by the Glide Memorial Methodist Church in San Francisco. Because of the church's reputation as a center of political activism and its policy of encouraging all kinds of people to become involved in its projects, Glide Memorial was easily infiltrated by FBI agents and Muir and Michel were followed by the FBI from the time they left San Francisco until their arrests.

Why, then, did the FBI wait until the two had reached a remote section of Montana to arrest them? According to Keith Burrows, the U.S. prosecuting attorney for the case, the FBI waited until they were "sure" the pair were going to Wounded Knee. It also made sure that they would be tried in Billings, a city well-known for its anti-Indian attitudes.

The defendants, who faced $10,000 fines and five years in prison, had to travel back and forth from California to Montana for hearings when the court refused to change the venue. Burrows argued that the case had to be tried "near where the crime had been committed."

Burrows also claimed that Wounded Knee had been declared a "riot" by presidential order, and he felt he had a good case. But defense attorney Robert Stephens felt he had an equally good chance to win a an acquittal, and thus establish a precedent which would prevent similar harassments in the future.

But the case didn't come to trial. On March 6, nearly a year after Muir and Michel were arrested, the case was dismissed on motion of the prosecution. Burrows said he had instructions from the Department of Justice in Washington, and the action was taken because no guns or ammunition were involved.

The defense might have encouraged the government to back away, however, with its announcement that it would not only try to win a landmark case, but it would also prove the well-known anti-Indian bias of the Montana judicial system: native people don't serve on juries even in districts with large native populations and a disproportionate number of native people are imprisoned. It said it would challenge the definition of the Wounded-Knee-type action as a riot.

But none of this will happen now. As Stephens said, "The whole thing, even without a conviction, is useful to hassle people and discourage them from getting involved, especially young people who generally have a lot of time for political activities." He believes that the U.S. will continue to use the Rap Brown Act for this purpose, but will not bring many cases to trial.

In a counter-effort to discourage the U.S., Muir and Michel are hoping to initiate a civil suit to prove that the government never had any intention of pushing for a conviction, and had used the charges as a means of harassment.

Similar charges against Vernon Bellecourt, Tonia Ackerman, and Douglas Phelps for violating the so-called Rap Brown Act in Wyoming were also dropped on February 5. The three had attended a rally at Colorado State University in Fort Collins, and had urged students to send food and medicine to Wounded Knee – that, apparently, is a crime under federal legislation.

Former U.S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark has said that he believes the "Rap Brown" antiriot act was unconstitutional, because of its "chilling effect on the right of free speech."

(Thanks to Borrowed Times, an alternate newspaper published at POBox 1311, Missoula, Montana 59801. The American Indian Movement chapter at Missoula is located at 2201 27th St., W.)

alaska land settlement: boon or doom?

Anchorage, Alaska – Alaskan natives are struggling with the problems arising out of the Alaska Native Land Claims Settlement Act which cleared the way for the Alaskan petroleum pipeline, still uncertain whether the huge settlement is boon or doom.

In 1972, Congress voted to award the native people of Alaska 40-million acres of their own land, in compensation for their giving up the other 440-million acres forever. They also were awarded a billion dollars, perhaps to replace all services and rights guaranteed through the trust responsibilities of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Under the legislation, the settlement is to be made over a 20-year period, and in order to receive it, t he aboriginal people are required to organize business corporations, with their entire population as voting stockholders.

Many view this as the most successful treaty ever negotiated by natives. Their holdings will equal roughly 2% of the total land of the United States. Considered as a business entity, the Alaskan natives will qualify among the ten largest corporations in the U.S.

But the contract is less than golden. Ultimately, they fear, it could bring them defeat by acculturation – something they have deftly managed to avoid for three centuries.

Although the native Alaskans have been impoverished – the average family in an Alaskan village has an income less than one-fourth that of white Americans – the poorest of the northerners are in better mental and physical shape than the majority of native people on the Outside. And in many ways, they have a freedom that white men would envy.

But the immigrants to Alaska – United States people – are trying hard to impose their own ethic on the people and the land. Lael Morgan recalls a speech she heard in 1965 by a man representing a pulpmill.

He addressed the local chamber of commerce, and explained they had chosen the area not only because of the timber, but because there were a lot of unemployed Indians. They were signed on, and proved to be excellent workers. "But in two or three months, when those Indians had a little more money than they needed, they quit – went off to hunt and fish!" he said, still struck by the incredibility of it all. "And then three or four months later when they were broke, they came back and wanted to work for us again! Now what we've got to teach these people is that they have to work an eight-hour day, a five-day week, and a 50-week year."

But that way of life is proving to be disastrous even in mainstream America, and it is a social catastrophe in the small Arctic settlements where sharing of food and good fortune is necessary for survival. Misers are classified with rapists and murderers, and the concept of saving is not popular.

An Inuit child grows up believing generosity and honesty are prime virtues. He is taught to repress envy and aggression, and not to be competitive. Violence and even boasting are condemned. Men, women, and children are equal. A pipeline isn't instrumental in changing all that – the educational system is doing a good enough job already. In school, Inuit children are taught western values: be competitive, aggressive, and self-reliant.

But now the new native corporations are receiving checks from the U.S. Treasury for millions of dollars, which have to be invested in profit-making ventures. The managers and directors of these firms are a class in themselves, sharply contrasted with the ordinary people of the villages.

Some observers believe that there is a serious and growing gap between native leaders and the disadvantaged villages they represent. It takes an unusual personality to be able to deal with sophisticated politicians and executives, and remain in touch with the people in the remote villages, who are, after all, supposed to be the beneficiaries of the work of the leaders.

John Borbridge, for instance, as president of Sealaska corporation, has a salary of $35,000 and a travel budget of $8,500. It is easy to understand how he might be viewed by a village that has no money to pay a mayor or business manager and which has a median income of about $2,000 per family.

No Prostitutes – Just Indians and Bankers

The Alaska Federation of Natives, Inc., was holding its annual convention about the time the huge settlement first installment was to be paid in December.

"I went to one native convention not long ago where we were continually bothered by a horde of prostitutes," one delegate said. "Here the police have arrested all the prostitutes, but this convention is plagued with hoards of bankers. Nobody here tonight but Indians and bankers."

Another delegate, pleased at being wooed by the well-to-do of capitalism's bureaucracy, said the meeting was a "historic day".

He said his people had a reborn pride. "Just look at them," he pointed, indicating a group of well-dressed Indians and Inuit. "Just a short time away from primitive life!"

Most of the women had long, glittery formal gowns and fancy hair-styles when they attended a banquet for Howard Rock, the 62-year-old editor and co-founder of *Tundra Times*.

Prosperity: What will it do to the people?

All of this was necessary, it seemed, to give native people their "fair share" of the prosperity which will come to Alaska as a result of the exploitation of the land resources given to the native people by the Creator in the beginning. If the natives are going to be wealthy, the Alaskans are going to be wealthier.

There may be 18,000 new jobs, 40,000 more people, and other signs of "progress" as the 670-square-mile oil field is tapped for what economists say is oil worth $64-billion on up to estimates of $200-billion. One economist says that by 1981, Alaska will have doubled its employment and increased its 330,000 population by 60%.

Now Alaska Has a Sound Title

One of the first court suits involving aboriginal land in Alaska has resulted in defeat for native rights in district court. Federal judge Oliver Gasch ruled that Congress had the constitutional right – which it used – to give the state good title to land.

In ruling that the Arctic Slope Native Association had no claim on its former land which had been taken over by the state and then leased out to oil interests. "Congress fully intended that there should be no further 'cloud' on land title in Alaska stemming from aboriginal land claims, and that legal challenges to title based on such claims should be barred," Gasch ruled.

The state had netted $900-million bonus bids from oil leases in 1969 on aboriginal lands. Gasch ruled that in fact, before the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act was passed, that the native people actually owned the land – but now that the settlement had been handled by the Congress, the State of Alaska had legitimate title.

Gasch did say, however, that there were grounds for a suit which the natives could bring against the oil companies for illegal trespass in early exploratory activities. Charles Edwardsen, executive director of the Arctic Slope Native Association, said that the decision against their title may be appealed, and in addition, the suit for damages would be filed.

The state of Alaska is huge by anyone's standards. It is six times the size of Oregon, with an area of 556,432 square miles. But less than a million of its acres are privately owned. And it is how to divide up the remainder that is the political problem – the federal government wants its share, the state its share, and the native people want some too. Under the statehood legislation, the state is entitled to 103 million acres, and under the Claims Act, the native people will get 40 million acres. Who gets first choice is a big question.

The State of Alaska will receive $1.07-billion just by 1983 even if the price of oil doesn't rise. Similar figures of oil corporation profits make the native share look small in comparison. Some say that the oil companies will have *yearly* profits of $2.86-billion. Financial transactions are so great that bankers fly from Anchorage to New York to deposit money promptly so as not to miss one day's interest.

Despite all the oil, Governor William Egan is warning that unless there is special federal assistance, the state will be hit by a severe "energy crisis."

Welcome to Big Business

The regional corporations created under the Claims Act are for one principal purpose – money-making. They are intended to generate profits for their shareholders, the native members. However, the social, educational, judicial, health and welfare needs of the villages and rural areas of the state remain the total responsibility of all the tax-paying citizens of the state – native and non-native. BIA services will be terminated, and strictly speaking legally, the people will cease to be "native people" and will become Alaskans.

"We have no rights as natives any more. We have rights as a citizen. We have exactly the same rights as anybody else," says Ralph Johnson of the Cook Inlet Region corporation. But unlike most of the native people who don't understand the implications of the Claims Act, Johnson likes that change. "I think it's good," he says.

Perhaps it is natural to feel that way. Aboriginal rights, as defined by the BIA, often results in discrimination, problems, ill-treatment. Many still resent the lines of native people who waited for bowls of soup at the doors of the BIA, or the hundreds of women who sit in BIA waiting rooms to be processed for aid to their dependent children. But while that will be gone, also gone are aboriginal rights as defined by the Creation.

The U.S. is already checking to see what programs for native people it can terminate. Tom Whittington, a young former-Peace-Corps lawyer, has been appointed by Interior Secretary Rogers Morton to conduct a comprehensive study to see which programs will no longer be needed now that the native people are, on paper at least, wealthy.

Alaska Federation of Natives former president and state senator Willie Hensley says that the act assumes that the natives will take over all social, educational, and welfare programs.

"What it failed to see," Hensley says, "was that the settlement was a real estate deal – the money would be for us to reinvest. If the money were to pour into the social and health services, we would be broke within a year or two – with no social programs funded at all then."

Whittington admittedly has no experience in native affairs, and has never before been in Alaska. But, he says, this will enable him to be "objective". He will file his report by December 18 of this year.

Location of native corporations and reported oil deposits

To minimize the possibility that inexperienced or unscrupulous native leaders or fast-talking whites might fritter away the settlement for thousands of people, Congress prohibited sales of land by native groups. That means that if funds are spent on social services now, in twenty years, the native groups will be forced to sell their land to survive.

The act established twelve regional corporations, which in turn are vested with several village corporations. And since big business in Alaska is synonymous with the oil industry, the native managers have to compete with the dog-eat-dog counterparts in the world of Big Business.

The money on which they operate is voted each year by congressional vote. About half of the billion dollars will come from the general fund of the U.S. Treasury, paid out over a period of years, and the other half will be paid from royalties, rentals, and leases of land owned by the federal and Alaskan governments – but this will trickle forth only if and when the state and federal governments lease their lands to oil and mineral firms.

The 40-million acres of land set aside for natives is also vested in the corporations, and how much income this will generate depends on the shrewdness of each corporation. Or, that land could be set aside for the preserva-

tion of the traditional ways of life. However, this may not be feasible – first of all, the quantities and kinds of land reserved are not sufficient, chances are that the oil industry will encroach on the traditional life-style anyway, and so much social service expenditures will be necessary by the corporations that they will need every penny they can get from their investments. Those who are in management capacities, too, are likely to be the individuals who place the least value on traditional life-styles.

"We're organized strictly on a functional, profit-making basis," Johnson says. "The management of the corporation is to look after the interests of the stockholders. I can't play politics – it's a business."

The "interests of the stockholders" is also of great interest to large corporations who are anxious to exploit the money and land which the corporations control. The Ford Foundation funded the "Alaska Native Foundation," which is to offer "technical assistance." One of its operations is to publish a bi-monthly *Alaska Native Management Report*, written and edited by two non-natives who closely follow corporate decisions. About 50 companies subscribe to the $145-a-year publication and thus know as much about native inner secrets as do the native people themselves.

In addition to external problems such as weather and distance, the very establishment of the native corporations and the village corporations has started causing friction. Each organization is anxious to obtain the best lands available – even to the point of disputing with other natives. Because of the intensity of land speculation in Alaska, each corporation hires its own consultants, land surveyors, and geologists, creating an influx of non-Alaskan non-native "landmen." Instead of sharing as they did in the past, native people are now jealously guarding information on possible oil and mineral prospects in areas where more than one corporation is interested in obtaining land.

Another problem is that the federal government had first choice of the land, and withdrew 80-million acres for parks, forests, military, and wildlife reserve.

"The Government's got land along the rivers and along the coast," Johnson complains, saying that the most undesirable land has been left for native use. One hundred million acres have been set aside, out of which the 12 native corporations can select the 40-million acres allotted to them. But the disputes are going to drag on for years – some say it may be the turn of the century before they are all settled.

The Pipeline – Change for 10,000

Ten thousand natives will be directly affected by the construction of the pipeline, either by having to move from its path, or having their life-styles totally

– Anchorage Daily Times

This group of non-native people are deciding how the land of Alaska will be utilized by all "citizens."

changed. Any opposition they may have to the project will be countered by other natives in the corporations, which now depend on royalties from oil for their lifeblood.

Some reports prepared by the Education Systems Research Corporation for the BIA sound ominous: "The Athapascan communities of Stevens Village and Rampart, located on the banks of the Yukon River, can be expected to experience significant impact from the construction of the pipeline and service road. The villages are small and currently exist in relative isolation from white Alaska. [Therefore] these villages still exhibit to a significant degree characteristics of the traditional culture. . .Current indications are that the [service] road would become a public highway, that the corridor eventually would be selected as state land, and that the area would be opened up to recreational use and development."

At the present time, there is the fact that native people have – under the law – given up their hunting rights. A plea has been made to Interior Secretary Rogers Morton asking him to allow subsistance hunting for peoples who rely on hunting for a living.

The first payment of $130-million to get the native corporations moving was delayed for a time when a federal district judge issued an injunction forbidding its distribution pending claims of two non-resident native groups in Washington State and Oregon. They had attempted to set up a corporation of their own, but a Department of Interior referendum on the matter showed a majority of the non-residents were against the proposal. The judge, Oliver Gasch, changed the injunction when the Department of Interior assured him that an adjustment could occur when the next $70-million installment was paid.

Under the proposal, non-resident natives would share in the money from the claims settlement, but would not receive any share in the profits from mineral development of the land. Without a separate corporation, non-residents must participate in their home regional corporations.

Nana is Opposed to Highways

The Nana Corporation has a young board of directors – the average age is 30 years. John Schaeffer, once president of the board, is now executive director. The corporation encompasses an area of about 30 million acres, of which Nana will receive 2.5 million. The region is oil-rich and includes mountains, valleys, and tundra. There are large copper deposits as well, and Standard Oil has a contract for exploration.

There are about 5,000 persons enrolled, and eventually there will be an $80-million investment nest egg which is supposed to generate funds for its members. Long range investment plans include tourism, housing, mining and fisheries.

The corporation says its members are adamant in opposing the construction by the state of a road from Fairbanks to Kotzebue, connecting up villages in the area. "We just don't want that road," Schaeffer says. "We will oppose it at every chance we get."

(Thanks to Daryl Lembke of the Los Angeles Times News Service, The Oregonian, Anchorage Daily Times, Anthony Griggs of the Race Relations Reporter, Lael Morgan and the New York Times, Robert C. Miller of United Press International, Casey Buckro of the Chicago Tribune Press Service, Helen Gillette of Anchorage Daily Times, for information used here.)

WORLD'S LARGEST LOCAL GOVERNMENT FORMED BY INUIT DESPITE OBJECTIONS OF MAJOR OIL COMPANIES

North Slope Borough, Alaska – Inuit residents of this newly-formed municipality, which is the world's largest local government, have won a two-year legal battle with seven major oil companies. The Alaska Supreme Court ruled January 16 that the borough was legal and proper and that it could tax the oil industries on its lands.

The borough encompasses a 56.5-million-acre area, located on the northernmost portion of the state of Alaska. It was created by the Inuit there to provide a means to furnish education, water, sanitation and other desperately needed public services. With its creation, however, it also attained the power to levy taxes, and to make regulations, zoning ordinances and other measures which would not be popular with the oil interests.

Though Barrow, Alaska, is the seat of government, there is now no sewage system and water must be hauled from distant lakes or obtained by melting fresh-water ice. The temperature stays below zero an average of six months a year. About 65% of the housing is substandard.

When the 1,200-foot-thick permafrost thaws on the surface during the brief summer, the flat, virtually treeless landscape is studded with thousands of shallow tundra ponds. The rest of the year, it is covered with snow and ice. Air travel is the only way for borough officials to visit the four outlying villages.

The borough's five-member governing board, called the Assembly, passed its first property assessment last May. On an assessment of nearly $1-billion, property taxes will raise $1.5-million, of which the oil companies will pay 98.5%. Few individual residents will pay because single-family dwellings up to $20,000 in value are exempted. The oil companies have complained that this is unfair.

Most residents of the area rely upon food from hunting, whaling, and fishing. And while they are sitting upon oil reserves estimated to be worth over $90-billion, the Inuit fear that this huge wealth holds no special benefit for them. On the contrary, they are beginning to feel interference with their traditional life-style because of oil operations.

The oil companies argued that they could provide the services needed themselves, in a company-town type of arrangement

The state Supreme Court disagreed. "Private development interests do not align with the public interest," it said. For example, "an active planning and zoning authority in the form of a borough would assure that private agreements and intentions do not waver and development diverge from the long-range interests of North Slope residents and the state." The court said it doubted the companies had long-range interests.

Income from industrial taxes now will make a high school possible there – presently students must pay the price of years of separation from families and life in government boarding schools in order to obtain a high school education.

At least one oil company – Atlantic Richfield – is conducting an expensive public relations campaign to convince people that it not only is conservation minded, but that it has a great respect for native people.

"The Indians call the earth their mother. We must protect the earth," the advertisements coo. "We must learn to live in harmony with her; we must learn her moods and rhythms. We must love the earth. When man and nature are in harmony, the land is happy. There is great strength in this idea." Whether the idea is also practiced by Atlantic Richfield and other companies is yet to be seen.

North Slope Inuit are proposing that a vast area be set aside for a "Nunamiut National Park", which unlike other national parks, would perpetuate and emphasize the cultural and historic values of the natural people of the area. The plan being urged on the U.S. Government by the North Slope corporation spokesman Joe Upick soun would protect the caribou, the land, and the people who have been sustained by its use for the last 6,000 years or so.

The new borough is the first known instance in which native peoples have taken control of affairs under a system which serves and controls both native and non-native people. The borough was represented in its suit brought by the oil companies by David Getches of the Native American Rights Fund, a non-profit national Indian law firm in Boulder, Colorado.

Eben Hobson, a 51-year-old native who has been elected as the borough's first mayor, explained the reaction to the court's decision: "When we heard about it, we jumped up and down for an hour."

As a final blow to the oil companies, the court ordered them to pay the natives' attorneys' fees of $20,000. The oil companies had argued that the suit was brought in the "public interest" But the court felt otherwise. "Because the sums at stake in this controversy are large enough to prompt a suit without consideration of the public interest," the court concluded that the oil companies were simply looking out for themselves.

(Thanks to Zodiac News Service, and other friends for this information.)

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

U.S. NAVY FINALLY PAYS TLINGITS FOR VILLAGE IT BLASTED AWAY TO TEACH THEM A LESSON

Angoon, Alaska – In the Tlingit village of Angoon on Admiralty Island south of Juneau, every school child knows the bizarre story of how the Navy's U.S.S. Favority shelled and destroyed their village 90 years ago.

The Angoon version is that while fishing with two white men in October, 1882, an Indian was killed by the premature explosion of a whaling harpoon charge. The two whites were not injured.

In accord with a native-style workman's compensation plan, the Angoon people asked the trading company for whom the three men were working to pay 200 blankets for the death. The company manager, Captain J.M. Vanderbilt, balked and instead sailed to Sitka. There he reported to Federal officials that the two white men were being held hostage.

So, the next day two Navy ships were dispatched to Angoon, where they disembarked 100 Marines and sailors while the astonished natives watched. The two white men were obviously not being held captive, but the U.S. Navy demanded that the natives pay the U.S. a tribute of 400 blankets, or their canoes would be destroyed, and their village shelled. The Navy force was led by Commander E.C. Merriman.

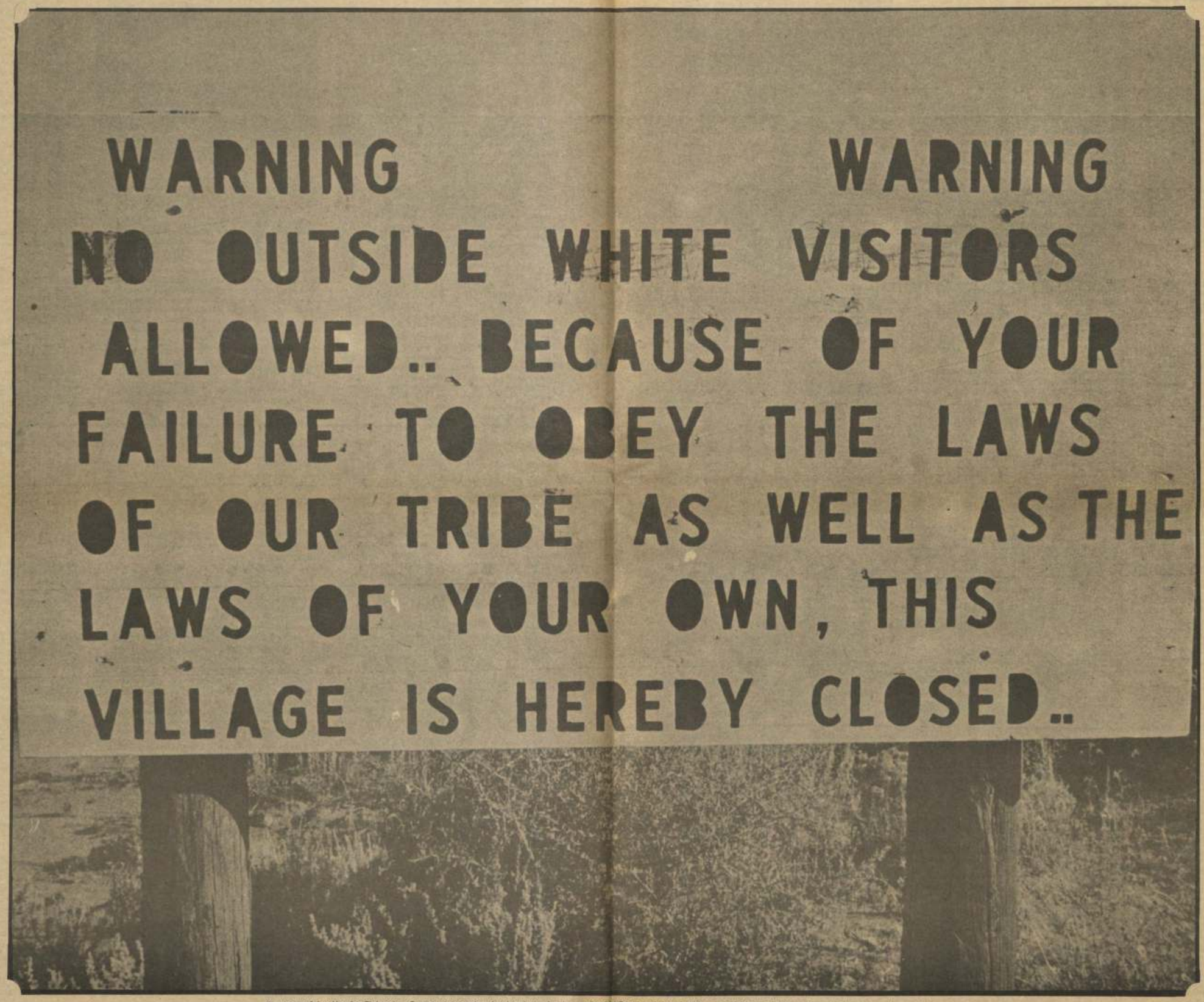
That night, the Angoon people evacuated their village, and the next day, October 26, 1882, the ships started blasting away and the village went up in flames. Local tradition holds that six residents were killed.

In 1969, the Tlingit-Haida Central Council filed a claim with the Indian Claims Commission for damages for the destruction of the Angoon village. But nine days before the case was to go to trial, Federal lawyers agreed to settle the old grievance for $90,000.

In October, 1973, many of Angoon's 300 villagers met and voted to accept the U.S. offer. Perhaps not a huge windfall, but money wasn't the only objective.

Before the settlement, Clarence Jackson, president of the Central Council, told the Associated Press: "Basically all we want is for the U.S. Government to admit that they did a serious wrong to the Angoon people."

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★


WARNING WARNING
NO OUTSIDE WHITE VISITORS
ALLOWED.. BECAUSE OF YOUR
FAILURE TO OBEY THE LAWS
OF OUR TRIBE AS WELL AS THE
LAWS OF YOUR OWN, THIS
VILLAGE IS HEREBY CLOSED..

We are grateful to Henning Christoph, a German photographer, for this photo of a sign outside Old Oraibi in the Hopi Nation, one of the two oldest continuously inhabited settlements in the North American continent. The village council posted the sign after tourists violated instructions that they were not to photograph sacred Hopi dances. This is one of a series of posters by AKWESASNE NOTES. They are available in attractively printed heavy poster paper at 3 for $1 or 50 cents each, postpaid (plus 25 cents for mailing tube, if desired) all of one kind, or a variety. Write: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, New York 13683.

northwest

RIGHT-TO-FISH AFFIRMED BY FEDERAL COURT

Seattle, Washington – A lengthy federal court decision issued in Tacoma, Washington, February 12 has reaffirmed the right of Washington state Indians to fish in their historic off-reservation grounds, and recognized the supremacy of federal Indian treaty law over state law concerning Indians.

Hank Adams of the Survival of American Indians Association at Frank's Landing, a group in the forefront of the fishing struggle, has requested meetings with state governor Daniel Evans and Slade Gorton, Attorney General, to discuss proposals directed toward the adoption of "rational, positive State attitudes."

Adams charged that liberated documents show invasion of privacy, malicious manufacture of evidence for criminal cases, and other actions which could lead to disbarment, criminal prosecution, or at least severe disciplinary action against Larry Coniff and William Lemke who were involved in fishing cases as assistant attorneys general for the state.

The records of departments of game and fisheries and of the attorneys should be impounded and investigated, Adams said. He said that in addition to misbehaviour on the part of officials, it would also show a conspiracy of lower level federal and state officials to thwart native fishing rights, despite the fact that their agencies were supposed to represent native interests.

For instance, Adams quotes an assistant attorney general of the state as writing: "It appears to me that they are banking hopefully on public sympathy . . . The only antidote I can think of at the moment to counter this strategy is to bleed heavily for the fish and pull out all the stops for the record in describing the rape of this God-given natural resource (sob) and maybe steal some of their thunder."

Documents indicated that sometimes federal undercover agents were assigned to assist state fisheries enforcement authorities, despite the fact that it is the federal agencies who are supposed to aid Indians.

". . . This (Indian) subject went down over the side of the dike struggling with the Game agents and had to be thumped in the head several times with a riot stick . . . I feel that the whole operation was a success and was glad that I got to take part in it," Fisheries Officer Howard Simpson stated in his official report of one unlawful attack conducted with federal help.

Walter Neubrech of the state Game Department told reporters that in a January 5, 1972, raid in which native people had complained of brutality from 40 police officers armed with guns and riot clubs that his men were not armed. However, his confidential report to Game Department director Carl Crouse said that the sweep force included a 15-man riot squad, sheriff units, U.S. Army Military Police, and 15 regular patrolmen operating under the "Nisqually River Patrol Plan."

Judge Boldt's decision now establishes that the native stand was legally quite correct.

Now native people are meeting with state officials to determine the working implications of this victory in the long-standing fishing wars in this state.

Senior U.S. District Court Judge George H. Boldt ruled that the plaintiff tribes – Lummi, Hoh, Makah, Muckleshoot, Nisqually, Puyallup, Quileute, Quinault, Sauk-Suiattle, Skokomish, Squaxin, Stillaguamish, Upper Skagit and Yakima – were successors to treaty nations.

Although the decision was hailed as one which "finally settled" the controversy between treaty-protected native people and state-supported commercial and sport fishermen, most native people were skeptical that this would be the case. The decision did, however, put Indians "way ahead" in their struggle which has erupted into periodic violence along the rivers of the state, and numerous arrests of native people across the state.

The decision gave tribal groups the right to regulate the fishing of their members, although certain conditions must be met such as certification documents for each fisherman, reporting of catches to state officials, and the establishment of BIA-approved tribal regulations. Boldt said that to be completely free of state regulation, each tribe will have to convince the court that it is managing its fishery efficiently, and enforcing its regulations vigorously.

Judge Boldt said his court would maintain jurisdiction over the case in the event of further disputes. His ruling said that while Indians do have prior rights, the state had the right to regulate those guarantees in the interests of conservation – and where these two rights conflict will be the subject of the further disputes.

Boldt ordered a return of boats and nets seized by state law enforcement officers in previous raids.

(Thanks to Larry Cantril of the American Indian Press Assn. News Service and to the New York Times News Service.)

SILETZ PEOPLE NOW REGRETTING SELL-OUT; HOPE TO REGAIN RECOGNITION FOR U.S. PROGRAMS

Siletz, Oregon – A desire to be able to go into bars like white people, and to get as far as possible away from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, led the Siletz native people of western Oregon to terminate their federal status in 1956 – and they've been regretting the move ever since.

In this small logging town on the mid-Oregon coast, many Siletz are plagued with ignorance, poverty, and alcoholism after just 18 years of the American mainstream. And their knowledge of their history is not much more than knowing they were ripped off.

A leader of a low-key movement to get Congress to reinstate the Siletz as a group entitled to federal programs, Robert Rilatos, recalls the appeal in the 1950s of being able to go into bars was strong.

"There was a lot of intermarriage," Rilatos, 41, said. "So if a Siletz had a white wife or the other way around, one could go in but the other couldn't. This is what they held out to us. They sort of glossed over the rest. I was against the idea of terminating back then – Hell, there were so many home brewers around here it didn't really matter."

Joe Lane, 52, president of the newly-reorganized Confederate Tribes of Siletz Indians of Western Oregon, said the Siletz City Council was being asked to return 39.5 acres of land consisting of a cemetery and a dilapidated building once used as a dispensary for a federal doctor treating Indians. The city was given the land when the tribe terminated. Holding some land is a key to many federal programs, he said.

Lane said they were also investigating the possibility that they were swindled out of a large trust fund and were defrauded in the sale of their 1.3-million-acre reservation.

The Siletz have shrunk in numbers since the 1800s when they were moved there by the government. There are now about 300 living in the area. About 25 small tribes were put there in 1855 and became the Siletz Confederation.

But the land didn't last – some was taken by government decrees, railroad interests, and in 1887, by the Dawes Act, much of the land was turned over to white homesteaders. All the Siletz people got then was $42,000 and $100,000 placed in a trust fund – but historians can find no record that it was paid.

Even then, the land kept dwindling. Some was sold to pay taxes or the costs of locating heirs – soon there was just five acres of timber left – that was gone too in the final settlement of 1956 in which each Siletz person received $400.

"A lot of us feel the Siletz were penalized for their industry when they were dissolved," Lane says. "We had long ago integrated with the white, and we weren't on welfare. Most of our people had pretty good jobs. But today, a lot of our people need help." Government services to the reservation had stopped decades before the 1950s, and hunting and fishing rights never were included in the Siletz treaties.

Most Siletz lands are valuable timber and resort holdings today, and Lane believes there is little hope of regaining much of the land.

The Siletz base much of their hope on the case of the Menominees of Wisconsin, who recently had benefitted from federal legislation de-terminating their status. However, the Menominee land was intact, virtually, as a county, while the Siletz lands are fragmented and the people now scattered.

(Thanks to Clyde Jabin of United Press International, and to the Associated Press for information used here.)

TRADE COMMISSION URGES PROTECTION FOR KLAMATHS AS VULTURES GATHER

Portland, Oregon – The Klamath Nation's last remaining lands were sold under a termination program and now about 600 members will receive about $120,000 each. But the chances of the newly-rich becoming quickly poor is so great that the Federal Trade Commission is taking steps to prevent consumer fraud.

The FTC released a report in February of a hearing held in Klamath Falls in 1972. Testimony showed that Klamaths who had earlier taken cash payments for their land were systematically cheated by local businessmen, real estate agents, trust officers, and lawyers.

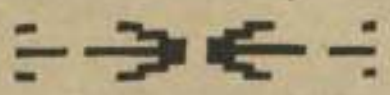
To prevent a repeat, the FTC will urge Congress to provide additional funds for a consumer counselling staff to help the Klamaths get a fair deal.

In 1961, 1659 Klamaths chose to split from the tribe and take cash for their shares of the lush, heavily timbered reservation in southern Oregon. Each got about $43,000.

"Ironically, the termination payments were considered a panacea to the Klamaths' problems, precluding the need for any further assistance," the report says.

"Thus the payments have obscured the real problem facing them: the range of consumer, health, educational, legal and economic problems typically experienced by poor people. Most of these problems still confront the Klamaths today."

The FTC transcript of the 1972 hearing cites examples – without names or specifics – of Klamaths cheated in purchases of automobiles, real estate, appliances, and of excessive fees by lawyers. There was improper and unauthorized expenditure from Klamath trust funds.



The FTC says the federal agency chosen by Congress to provide consumer counseling to the Klamaths "should not be connected with the sale of the Klamath reservation or have been active in Indian affairs – it must be an agency that the Klamaths will trust."

. . . . . .

Native people in California have been through Pomo River, Alcatraz, Pitt River, and a variety of other court cases. And consistently at their side as been attorney Aubrey Grossman. He has proved to be a trusted and able ally.

In one case, his protests about the denial of basic rights to his Indian clients caused him to be cited for contempt. Now the State Bar Association is seeking to disbar him – when actually it should be giving him a medal of commendation for his bringing some decency into his profession.

Those who wish to help California native people retain their attorney in the many cases which still remain unsettled should write a letter of support of Grossman to:

Board of Governors of State Bar
601 McALLISTER St.
San Francisco, California 94102

and send a copy to: Campaign for Defense of Indian Rights, 381 Arbor St., San Francisco, California 94131.

Civil Rights Commission Looks At Navajo Nation

Window Rock, Arizona — Holding its first hearings on an Indian reservation, the United States Commission on Civil Rights spent late October looking at the Navajo Nation. The commission found that country to be strikingly comparable to Third World countries in Latin America, Africa and Asia — impoverished, exploited, and despite natural resources, headed toward bankruptcy.

Some 128,000 Navajos live on or adjacent to the largest reservation in the North American continent. About the size of West Virginia, it is noted by tourists for its natural beauty, its silversmiths, and its rug weavers.

But under that surface, the commission found a bleak situation of poverty and despair, joblessness and alcoholism, and most important, neglect and betrayal of the American Government, on which the Navajos, by treaty, were made dependent for survival.

The reservation looks deceptively under-populated, but it is not. More than half the land is desert that will support only meager herds of livestock, and 37% is semi-arid land, good for little more than subsistence farming or grazing.

The Navajo Nation has rights to Colorado River water, which could make thousands of acres fertile. But canals and irrigation systems are needed to make use of it. The Navajos gave up a portion of their water rights in exchange for the irrigation system — but Congress will not grant enough money to build a reservation irrigation system it approved in 1962.

The per capita income of Navajos is less than $1,000 a year. In terms of buying power, an average Malaysian is better off. Half of the Navajo population lives in rented houses of one or two rooms. Each home averages five occupants. 60% have no electricity, 80% no water. To meet ordinary United States standards, 19,281 new homes would have to be built.

The median level of education is 5.3 years, against 12.1 years nationally. Less than one in five adult Navajos over 25 years of age has a high school diploma. Three out of four Navajos are under 25 years of age. Navajo children attend state, Federal, and religious schools which teach in a foreign language, English, and teach a foreign way of life. Although Navajo-speaking teachers now translate in some lower grades, emphasis in all but a few schools is aimed at converting children to learn and think in English.

The results are poor, meaning that many — sometimes more than half — of Navajo students reaching high school have little comprehension of what their teachers, speaking in English, are trying to tell them. Bilingual education is virtually nonexistent. Studies of Navajo history and culture are also rare and often are relegated to elective or after-hours status.

Earlier this year, a newly-formed Navajo Labor Relations Council drew up employment preference guidelines for Navajos to be included in all future contracts with companies coming onto the reservation. However, a board member testified that none of the more than 100 companies holding existing contracts or land leases on the reservation had voluntarily agreed to accept the guidelines as a show of support.

In the past, Navajos have been shortchanged on jobs even in construction projects on the reservation. For example, the giant Four Corners Power Complex, which feeds electricity using Navajo coal to big Southwestern cities, was built with only 8% Navajo construction crews.

Ironically, a spokesman for one large construction firm said that while indigenous skilled laborers were hired by his firm in underdeveloped Asian countries — skilled laborers often trained under United States aid programs — such skilled labor was scarce on the Navajo reservation.

Even the energy crisis works against the Navajos. Several new energy-producing complexes are being planned for the reservation, but the Navajo leadership has limited authority to push for higher royalties because the Federal Government has final approval for reservation deals and says the energy shortage must have top priority.

Small business exploitation on the reservation is rife. About 80% of the general stores, or trading posts, on the reservation are controlled by outsiders. Only one in three retail businesses on the reservation is owned by Navajos. Because there are few retail establishments, there is little competition and prices are higher.

Navajos attempting to set up businesses are hampered by both tribal and Federal white tape. Because tribal land is held in trust by the Federal Government, potential Navajo businessmen have difficulty getting leases. Then because they only lease land, they find it almost impossible to obtain bank loans to get started.

As all developing nations have found, transportation facilities and utilitities are needed for economic development. The Navajo reservation has only 1,370 miles of paved roads.

Forty-nine out of sixty schools run by the Bureau of Indian Affairs on the reservation are boarding schools. Alcoholism, even in grade schools, is considered a serious and growing problem.

Last year, about 1,500 Navajo children ran away from elementary boarding schools.

Partly because of this, the Navajo people have often lost the ability to live outside the American economy, and with an unemployment rate of 56%, are largely able to live within the economy with great difficulty. Half of those who are employed had government jobs.

Huge corporations that have come onto the Navajo reservation to exploit reserves of oil, natural gas, coal and uranium, are supposed to give preference for jobs to Navajo workers. But the vast majority of workers in those jobs now are non-Navajos. Spokesmen for the companies contend that Navajos are often unskilled and unqualified for available jobs. Yet, the commission found, there are hardly any programs to train more than a token number of Navajos, except by those companies taking Federal funds for training programs.

But even then, Navajo labor experts told the commission, Navajos completing the Federally-funded training programs usually could not get jobs because of company and union discrimination. Thus the trainees often go from program to program receiving subsidies merely to have some means of income.

Lack of Funds Causing Unnecessary Deaths

According to Dr. Taylor McKinzie, a Navajo physician assigned to the Shiprock, New Mexico, Indian Health Service Hospital, a lack of adequate funding for hospitals on the Navajo Reservation has resulted in several unnecessary deaths.

McKinzie was one of four health officials to testify before the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights October 23. He told of four unnecessary deaths within the Shiprock facility alone. In one case, a patient with a fractured skull was placed on a stretcher in the hall and was left unattended because of a nursing shortage. The patient fell to the floor and later died, McKinzie testified.

Dr. George Bok, director of the Navajo Area IHS, said the nursing shortage on the reservation right now is acute. He said in the six hospitals operated by the service, there is a deficit of 273 nurses.

In the Shiprock facility, said Beverly Smith, director of nursing, the nursing staff "feels that they are giving inadequate care and even unsafe care" because of the nursing shortage.

At hospitals off the reservation, she said, it is normal to have one nurse for every infant born prematurely. At Shiprock, the ratio has been as high as one nurse for 18 infants, she said, eight of them born prematurely. She added this nurse often must assist in the delivery room, leaving the infants completely unattended for long periods.

McKinzie said lack of equipment and a shortage in laboratory technicians often causes doctors at the hospital not to order tests which are necessary for the well-being of their patients.

It is Easier to Fire than Respect

Testimony also centered on job discrimination. Kenneth White, compliance officer for the Office of Labor Relations, explained to the commission that Navajo culture causes so many problems for employers that it is easier to fire a Navajo than to adjust work situations to cultural needs.

"A lot of Navajo have cattle and sheep which must be taken care of," White said. "During the summer the kids are out of school, and they can take care of the stock. But during the winter, it is up to him [the Navajo man]. He must also cut wood for winter heat. And then there are the ceremonials and sings, which last from one night to as long as nine nights. These things have to be respected."

Peter MacDonald, Navajo tribal council chairman, said the BIA was sabotaging efforts by his people to obtain economic development for self-reliance. Red tape and delaying tactics were the main weapons of sabotage, he said, citing current unemployment, low wages, denial of funds for roads, schools, power.

"They act as if they didn't want us to accomplish these things at all," MacDonald told the commission.

The Commission did not touch on one of the greatest civil rights problems of all, however — the great gasification project in the Burnham area, below Farmington, New Mexico. There, a project of coal-strip-mining and gas manufacturing many times bigger than the controversial Black Mesa operation is being built over the objections of the Burnham Chapter House, the local community council. The power of the Navajo Tribal Council to sign authorization for the Department of the Interior to allow the project, and to remove them from their lands without the community's consent seems to rest on no clear legal basis, and thus would certainly be at least worthy of exploration by the Commission.

The best the Commission could do was to state that Navajo resources are being developed by private industry under leases "of questionable advantage to the tribe." But then, that's "business" American style, not "civil rights."

NAKAIDINAE GETS LONG SENTENCE FOR PART IN GALLUP ABDUCTION WHICH FOCUSED ATTENTION ON PROBLEMS

Albuquerque, New Mexico — Robert Nakaidinae, who plead guilty to two charges of false imprisonment and aggravated battery arising out of an abduction attempt of the former mayor of Gallup, New Mexico, last March 1, was sentenced to two to five years in prison November 12.

The sentence was handed down by U.S. District Court Judge Thomas Donnelly before a packed courtroom. Most native people in the courtroom began weeping when the sentence was handed down and many left hurriedly following the sentencing.

Nakaidinae's trial lasted only two days before he abruptly pleaded guilty. It was believed that plea bargaining — an agreement to plead guilty in exchange for the dropping of certain charges and a light sentence — was involved.

McKinley County District Attorney Louis DePauli dropped seven other charges, and told the court following the guilty plea that his office "recommends that in the event the court feels a jail sentence is warranted, that it not exceed eight months."

No demonstrations occurred during the trial. An encampment was set up by the Rio Grande River to accommodate persons wishing to attend the trial.

A spokesman for the Robert Nakaidinae Defense Committee said following the sentencing that "we're still going to spread Robert's word on why the whole incident happened on March 1."

On that date, Nakaidinae and Larry Casuse marched the mayor of Gallup, Emmett Garcia, out of his office at gunpoint in an effort to focus attention on severe problems encountered by native people in Gallup, a town of about 14,000 residents and about three dozen bars, tourists accommodations for "Indian Country, and the heritage of the controversial Gallup Ceremonial which was the subject of bitter protests. The town is surrounded by Navajo country.

The University of New Mexico's Kiva Club's native students are circulating a call for a letter-writing campaign requesting a pardon for Nakaidinae. They cite the significant change in attitudes in Gallup since the March 1st protest. "We maintain that Robert is not a criminal for having protested valid complaints Indians have had since Columbus. Whether one agrees with the March 1st incident or not, we think that Robert as a human being, with no prior police record, and as a person who calls himself an artist, a painter, should not be forced to endure the inhumanity of a prison term," a Kiva poster says.

Persons who wish to see Robert Nakaidine pardoned should write:
Governor Bruce King
Executive Legislative Building
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

(and send a copy to the University of New Mexico Kiva Club, Albuquerque, New Mexico.)

Health:

New Hope In Health Care For Native Americans

There are many ideas about how health care for native people can be improved. Dr. Carl A. Hoffman, as president of the American Medical Association, calls for a federal program to finance health care.

"I personally believe that if government accepts not only a moral responsibility, but also adheres to the various treaties, that the government owes the Indians access and availability of adequate health care," Hoffman said.

Dr. Hoffman also recommends that the administration of existing Indian Health Service programs be placed under increased Indian control. He said that tax incentives should be provided to encourage health professionals to enter or continue practice on reservations and other Indian areas facing critical manpower shortages.

Hoffman had recently completed a two-week tour of Indian reservations. He said that while the Indian Health Service had tried to live up to its responsibilities to meet Indian health needs, it has had only limited success, and that Indians had to have access to medical facilities and practitioners in private practice if Indian health was to improve.

He suggests a program similar to that provided for federal employees through Blue Cross, Blue Shield, or other insurance companies.

"The primary care on the reservations is pretty good," Hoffman believes, "but when they go off the reservation, they face discrimination.

He suggests that railroad passenger cars be equipped with medical and dental facilities to serve remote areas.

"Legislators will have to take this thing to heart," Hoffman stated. "I intend to talk to these men."

* * * * * * * *

Another kind of helping program is participation of professional schools in native health programs. Last year, dental hygiene students from Mankato State College went to the White Earth Reservation in northern Minnesota to give preventative treatments to Anishnawbeg students there.

Dr. Pat Reid of the U.S. Public Health Service is the only dentist on the reservation, and reported he was too busy to work on any preventative care, such as flouride treatments. The students bought their own food and slept on the floor of a nearby camp.

* * * * * * * *

An Oklahoma group has taken over its health care program under a contract with the Indian Health Service in another approach. The North-Central Oklahoma Inter-tribal Health Council, with headquarters in Fairfax, is chaired by Ed Red Eagle, Sr., of Pawnee.

The group has a $42,000 agreement to handle community health representatives who serve as liaison between Indian communities and health agencies, maternal and child health workers, and counselors working with the Indian Recovery Program. About 6,000 native persons, mostly Osage, Pawnee, Ponca, Otoe-Missouri, Kaw and Tonkawa peoples, live in the area.

* * * * * * * *

Sometimes special programs have to be instituted to handle specific medical problems. For instance, a Tucson cardiologist is directing a program to wipe out streptococcal infections among Papago children on their reservation in Arizona. Strep infections cause rheumatic fever, as well as kidney damage.

The specialist, Dr. Brenden Phibbs, operates from a mobile unit near the Sells Indian Hospital. There are four lab technicians who received special training from the Wyoming State Health Department where Dr. Phibbs had instituted a similar program a few years ago. The technicians examine throat samples, and where strep infections are found, all members of the patient's family are examined. The Sells lab looks at over 100 swab cultures every day.

Once current cases are under control, then every child on the reservation will be examined. Phibbs says that strep infections are completely preventable, and that he hopes the program will be extended to other reservations.

* * * * * * * *

The Indian Health Service plans to spend more than $15-million for three new Indian hospital facilities in New Mexico over the next several years. The three new facilities are to be known as Comprehensive Community Health Centers, and will serve Zuni, Santa Fe, and the Laguna/Acoma/Canoncito areas.

Harold Savage, IHS program planning and evaluation chief, says the new facilities are to replace existing hospitals at Zuni and Santa Fe which are "extremely antiquated and outdated. They are both over 30 years old, and the cost of upkeep is more than the cost of a new facility."

The Santa Fe hospital will be the largest of the three, and will increase from 40 to 55 beds. It will be the only one of the three to provide surgical facilities. The estimated cost of this hospital will be $6,818,000 with a completion date aimed at March, 1976. It will serve a population of 13,000. The new facilities will include dental services, field health programs, environmental health services, health education, school health programs, public health nursing, and social services. Special outpatient services will include well-baby clinics, mental health clinics, family planning clinics, alcohol and drug abuse programs, and nutrition services.

Savage says accidents are the number one health problem among New Mexico native peoples, who experience a rate three times higher than for other peoples of the state. Accident related injuries are the leading cause of death among Indian peoples.

The Zuni facility will increase in-patient bed capacity from 36 to 45, and will cost $3,980,000. It should be completed in March, 1975, and will serve an Indian population of 7100.

The Laguna/Acoma/Canoncito project is just in the planning stage. It has never been served by a medical facility, and people have had to travel to Gallup or Albuquerque for care.

* * * * * * * *

Another special health program is for the Pimas on the Gila River Reservation 40 miles southeast of Phoenix. There will be found the highest recorded frequency of diabetes in the world.

The extent of the Pima diabetic situation was discovered when a medical team went to look into the prevalence of arthritis – the Pimas live in a hot and dry climate, and it was thought that arthritis would be uncommon. Instead, they found that almost half of the population aged 30 and over had abnormal glucose tolerance tests, and many had eye and kidney disease and other problems related to the presence of diabetes.

For thousands of years, the Pima people had grown extensive crops through elaborate irrigation systems. They were prosperous and well-fed. But in the late 1800s, white settlers dammed and diverted the flow of the Gila River, making an agricultural existence impossible. The heavily-wooded valley was stripped of timber, and many of the cattle and people died of starvation. New diets, economic disaster, and social stress have all contributed to the incidence of diabetes which is ten to 15 times higher than among American people in general.

Now, new computerized diagnostic systems, a special clinic adjacent to the Sacaton Public Health Service, and the participation of consultants in medical centers all over North America are trying to find out why – and what can be done about the situation.

* * * * * * * *

Sometimes the rush and fervor to provide "equal services" to Indian peoples solves immediate problems but creates others more difficult to solve. Mental health problems are among them, and Western psychiatric methods are not always useful to native people.

Writing in the *Canadian Journal of Public Health*, Dr. Brian Brett of the Department of National Health and Welfare describes what has happened to children of the Western Arctic airlifted to government schools hundreds of miles away. They exchanged, he says, "warm kinship-based homes" for "efficiency-oriented, understaffed, strange impersonal surroundings of the residential school hostel."

He tells of an Inuit girl sent to such a school. At 13, teachers complained of behavioral troubles, she became a VD carrier, was arrested for drinking under age, married early, and now sha and her husband are known as the town drunks. She voluntarily entered a mental hospital in Edmonton, later discharged herself, lived briefly as a prostitute, and was last heard of heading north.

Two professional researchers studying children sent to residential schools found a "coherent picture" of problem behaviour emerging with alarming regularity, Dr. Brett reported. The children are unhappy, dissatisfied, maladjusted, and strikingly different from the Inuit child who remains in his own home. Far from benefiting from "educational opportunity," the children become split between two cultures and are happy in neither.

* * * * * * * *

Two new programs on the Navajo reservation are being implemented to improve the health situation there. The U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has awarded a five-year $4.7-million grant to the University of New Mexico to establish on the Navajo Nation a health education center that will eventually become the first medical school specifically designed for native American students.

Dr. Laurence B. Callen, director of the Navajo Health Authority, said that U.S. Public Health Service facilities and the Navajo Community College would be utilized until new buildings and laboratories were constructed.

The Navajo Health Authority has also announced the establishment of a Comprehensive Health Planning Agency designed to serve the 135,000 Navajos and 60,000 non-Indians living within and on lands bordering the sprawling 25,000-square-mile reservation.

Dr. Taylor McKenzie, chairman of the Health Authority's board of commissioners, says that "lack of coordination among the existing agencies, and built-in limitations of health programs responsible to a particular population or health problem, have further inhibited the provision of a coherent and effective health care delivery system for the citizens of this area."

The agency, which is being financed by an annual Federal grant of $176,000 for five years, will "serve to eliminate wasteful, unnecessary, duplication of effort and facilities," Dr. McKenzie said.

The Navajo Health Authority also received a grant of $266,000 from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation of Battle Creek, Michigan, to fund a three-year program for development of educational opportunities for leadership of American Indians in the health professions.

Health statistics to think about:

The death rate of Indian and Alaskan native children 1 to 14 years of age is almost three times greater than for other American children.

Life expectancy for native people is now 44 years, about 20 years lower than for the general population.

Middle ear infections, rarely seen in city and village medical practice, are a major problem on reservations.

Six times as many native people die of tuberculosis than do other American peoples.

The suicide rate for Indian males between 15 and 45 is four times greater than among white males in the same age bracket.

(Thanks to Chet Currier of the Associated Press, the New York Times News Service, Dr. Peter Bennett and the New York Diabetes Association, Janelle Stamper of the Albuquerque Journal, the Daily Oklahoman, the Mankato Free Press, and Mental Health/Canada News for information on this page.)

Alcoholism Under Attack

After a period of time trying to prove that Indians can and should drink like the white man, native people are acknowledging that alcohol and drug abuse is a serious problem in their communities, and a variety of imaginitive and traditional programs are underway.

Alcohol abuse afflicts one in three adult Indians – some 130,000 persons. Alcohol leads many to jails – in Winslow, Arizona, 65% of those jailed for drunkenness are Navajos and Hopi. In Phoenix, 5,130 Indians were charged with drinking offenses in a recent year. Every Indian family is affected with resultant social problems.

Recently, the U.S. Government set up a special native desk within its National Institute of Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. 140 projects are funded, a third of which serve urban Indians and the remainder on reservations. About $7-million is expended annually. In addition, the American Indian Commission on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse is funded separately to provide technical assistance to individual projects with its all-native staff.

There are six alcoholism training centers under U.S. sponsorship. One, at the University of Utah, trains personnel for 114 community programs in 25 western states under a $491,000 NIAA grant. The center enrolls 165 persons who alternate classwork on campus with field assignments. Three-fourths of the participants are rural or reservation Indians enrolled in credit classes leading to a certification.

However, there are those native people who claim that government-styled programs cannot help Indian alcohol abusers effectively, and that tribal medicine men and traditional spiritual activity have a greater value.

Bob Moore of Arvada, Colorado, executive director of the American Indian Commission on Alcoholism and Drug Abuse (AICADA) charges that the $7-million now being spent only treats symptoms, not basic causes.

Prevention of alcohol abuse must be a priority in any program to change reservation situations, says Orville Mestes of Minneapolis, director of the United Indian Coalition on Alcohol and Drug Abuse there. "If you improve the economics, all you are doing is providing the guy more money to drink on, sometimes," he points out.

Both Moore and Mestes, who participatrd in a meeting in Billings, Montana, last year, chastise Indians who complain about "the drunken Indian image" but who contribute to the image themselves. As examples, they point to Indian leaders who pass out in hotel lobbies in drunken stupors during Indian health conferences.

Moore charges that the white-designed alcohol programs are designed to fail, noting that alcohol has been a device to control Indians for several hundred years now. "We have to start utilizing Indian value and Indian culture," Moore says, if there is to be any change in the current abuse of alcohol. He said the real goal of treatment should be to "fill the void that exists in almost every Indian" with "self-worth, self-esteem, dignity, tradition." Treatment must reawaken spirituality, and medicine people and spiritual leaders must be used for that.

Mestes says that Indian paraprofessional health workers are necessary to help Indian Health Service psychiatrists in the first stages of treatment – otherwise, non-Indian medical personnel cannot usually understand the attitude of their patients.

Culture Stress Leeds to Booze

Dr. Stephen Proskauer of the Navajo area Indian Health Service points to the radical differences in Anglo and Navajo culture as one reason why native people drink so destructively. But, he says, these cultural differences are often glossed over because of the cultural arrogance of the Anglos.

"The problem is not even recognized, let alone discussed, in Indian schools – either BIA or public schools," he says. "The Navajo have strong feelings against an individual separating himself or his possessions from the group. It is no surprise, then, that Navajo children do not perform at their best in classes based on the Anglo value of competition, even if the classes are bilingual." The intelligent Navajo child senses the needs of slower members of his group and will withdraw or develop a reluctance to learn rather than outshine his friends.

When the Navajo child enters school, or later, when he attends Anglo-style social events, the models of "correct" behavior he sees contradict the examples of his relatives and friends.

"In order to accept the Anglo values," the physician says, "the Navajo child may be forced to reject his most precious family relationships. The forced rejection of crucial family figures as ideals also means the rejection of part of the self."

The full price a Navajo youth must pay as he is educated in Anglo-dominated values may not appear until adolescence, when excessive drinking begins. Proskauer said educators with imagination and sensitivity, with an understanding of both cultures, could help young Indians weave new experiences into their traditions without destructive consequences.

Dr. Proskauer is particularly sensitive to the situation of the Indian military veteran who returns home to find he is not "part of any world and the results are disastrous."

Dr. Prauskauer told a meeting of the World Federation for Mental Health last year that the military and mental health profession should have special "re-entry" programs for Indian vets. "The returning Indian vet is dumped by the military on towns bordering reservations, where they end up drunk and in jaul, forfeiting, as a result, many of their GI benefits," he said.

Further west, in North Dakota, the Standing Rock Alcohol Commission dedicated in 1973 a new emergency care and detoxification facility at Fort Yates. The unit occupies an eight-room section in the Skye Memorial Retirement Home and has a 20-patient capacity. Persons who have been drinking excessively are taken there rather than to the criminal justice system.

AIM Calls for Boycott on Liquor

One of the reactions to stress is to drink. Another reaction to stress is to deal with the cause of that stress. The American Indian Movement is urging all native people to abstain from alcohol as a poison "used for 300 years by white invaders to suppress and oppress Indians," according to AIM leader Dennis Banks.

Observers of the American Indian Movement have noted that many of its members who had severe drinking problems had become total abstainers as a result of their participation in activities which had bettered the lot of native people.

In addition, most AIM members come into contact with traditional religious beliefs, are purified in sweat lodge ceremonies, and are spiritually revitalized so that further resorting to the bottle becomes unthinkable.

A Problem a New Computer Won't Solve

Not all medical professionals are interested in working on the number one medical problem – alcohol abuse. In Alaska, for instance, the Alaska Native Health Service submitted a list of priorities, which it claimed was defined by native people. Number one on the list was a new data processing system, and alcoholism was not listed at all.

Gallup, New Mexico: A brother, uncle, father

Earlier efforts by federal health personnel to deal with the alcohol problem failed almost completely, and finally efforts in this area were relinquished to a native program located within the ANS facility. However, before the change was allowed, the same ANS professionals who had failed in direct treatment insisted upon training the native people who would replace them. This has led some natives who have been treated there to complain that the native counselors act just like white psychiatrists.

Government Profits on Drinking?

In Ontario and in the Northwest Territories, there are serious efforts being made to turn government profit from the sale of liquor to combat the serious problem of alcohol on Indian reserves. A field worker's report done for the Canadian Civil Liberties Education Trust was read to the Ontario Legislature in an effort to get some action.

"At Whitedog [near Kenora] this weekend a twelve-year-old boy stabbed his mother to death. While I was there Sunday morning, all the windows in the schoolhouse were broken, a brother beat his sister up badly, and a man chased his wife around with a crowbar. I saw little kids drinking from beer bottles."

However, other legislators who heard the report read had other ideas of how to solve the problem – more law and order. James Renwick, a New Democratic Party (NDP) member suggested:

"Even if it takes a ratio of one policeman for every Indian, the province must do whatever necessary to provide the protection elementary in a civilized society."

Generally, parliamentary discussion focussed on providing native policemen to handle the situation. John Yaremko, solicitor-general for Ontario, said the province would undertake a recruitment program as a pilot project, spending $80,000 this year, and $100,000 next year and $75,000 in a third year – a lot of money when efforts to delve into basic causes must beg for survival.

Equality: Not True for Indian Drinking

Some medical scientists report that the oft-repeated stories of how the Indians can't handle their firewater have basis in fact. Dr. John Ewing of the University of North Carolina Center for Alcohol Studies, reported recently that native people have lower levels of liver enzymes, which means that they are able to get drunk more quickly on less alcohol, and to stay drunk longer.

"We need to reach more Indian councils and explain that alcohol is more poisonous for Indians than for others," Ewing says.

Native traditional leaders agree, although perhaps for different reasons.

Archie Mosay of Balsam Lake, Wisconsin, an elder of the St. Croix band of Anishnawbeg, says, "Alcohol was not intended for use by Indian people."

He was speaking at a conference in Wisconsin sponsored by the Great Lakes Intertribal Council and the Indianhead Council on Alcoholism. Another participant, Mrs. Harold Frog, told of her own recovery from abuse of alcohol, and recited the familiar situation in her own community at Lac Court Oreilles: about the Indian infant who froze to death in a car while the parents were in a tavern, of the Cumberland area man who froze when he went home intoxicated and could not wake the occupants of his house.

"I do not know of a single Indian family not affected by alcoholism," Mrs. Frog told the conference.

Other participants scored federal authorities for not paying enough attention to native efforts to deal with alcoholism.

Ed Diving Hawk of Hustler, Wisconsin, directs a small agency known as Ain Dahing ["Our Home" in Chippewa] on an annual budget of just $10,000. "Alcoholism is at epidemic proportions in the Indian world," he says. "Severe peer pressure makes it almost mandatory that the Indian drinks whether he wants to at first or not."

Diving Hawk says the few alcoholism counselors in Wisconsin are spread out too thin, and are able to do little more than route the alcoholic Indian into a treatment center.

"But that doesn't work," he says. "The Indian needs a specialized program of recovery." Indian counselors rely on legend, ceremonies, history, and the Sacred Pipe to restore people into harmony with all things, he explained.

In nearby Minnesota, the Red Lake Chippewa Tribal Council was awarded a $200,000 grant from the National Institute of Mental Health to launch an all-out attack on drug abuse among some of its 4,000 members. An increasing number of people are involved with amphetamines and barbiturates, or sniffing glue and gasoline.

[Thanks to United Press International, the Bismarck (N.D.) Tribune, the Tucson Citizen, the Milwaukee Journal, the Associated Press, Mark Small of the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, Marilyn Drago of the Arizona Star, and Michael Wenninger of the Billings [Montana] Gazette for information used here.]

ChIleAn War Games

(This report is by Antonio Millape Caniuqueo, president of the National Mapuche Confederation in Chile. It was translated by INDIGENA, and was given to them by David Gonzalez who had visited Chile prior to the September, 1973, coup. Caniuqueo expressed to him the desire that this document be distributed among concerned native peoples in North America.)

On September 11, 1973, a clique of Chilean generals overthrew the democratically-elected government of President Salvador Allende Gossens. This coupe, in the planning stages for more than a year – and from all indications was desired by the government and corporate elite of the United States, was a desperate attempt to halt the growing support of the Chilean people for the popular unity government of Salvador Allende.

Standing behind the revolution in Chile were nearly a half-million Araucanian-speaking Mapuche Indians, the major part of whom lived on "reserves" in the southern provinces of Cautin, Bio-Bio, Malleco, Arauco, Valdivia, Osorno, and Llanquihue. Despite their poverty, the Mapuche were a dignified and militant people, having maintained their political independence until the end of the 19th century. During this century, they continued to fight to protect their ancestral lands against robbery and exploitation, and in the past decade they were at the forefront of the call for national agrarian reforms. In fact, it was the several Mapuche land takeovers in support of their aboriginal territorial claims which led the Allende government to institute a more rapid and comprehensive program of agrarian land reform. At the same time, the Mapuche, through the voice of several local, regional, and national Indian organizations, were successful in gaining support for the passage of a major Indian law which would, in their eyes, finally alleviate the injustices and insults of the past.

This article by Caniuqueo is an important document, especially the final part which outlines the grievances, demands, and program of the Regional Mapuche Associations. In itself, the document has historic significance, expressing for the contemporary Chilean Indian reality what Emiliano Zapata's Plan of Ayala did for the Mexican Indians in 1914, and what the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties did for the native peoples in the United States last year.

The fate of Antonio Millape Caniuqueo and the several Regional Mapuche Associations which his NMC represented is unknown. In all likelihood, they are today facing severe conditions of repression, violence, and assassination. The *New York Times* reported on October 5, 1973, less than a month following the coup, that "unofficial estimates range from 2,000 to 20,000 dead in the sporadic resistance and wave of repression that have followed the takeover." According to *Newsweek*, "Correspondent John Barnes said he sneaked into the city (Santiago) morgue, where he said that he saw bodies of 270 young persons, most of whom had been shot at close range beneath the chin. . . By the 14th day following the coup, the morgue had received and processed 2,796 corpses . . . The presumption is that the executions (in Santiago) have followed a similar pattern in other cities." Given the repressive agrarian regime of southern Chile and the militance of the Indian population there, it is highly likely that the Mapuche have suffered the burden of violence of the new military government of Chile.

The position of the military junta is clear. A couple of days following the coup, in an official statement of policy, they proclaimed: "With them (referring to the resisters) we will have no pity. If before we gave them a military trial, now we will not wait for the decision of the judges – rather we will execute them on the very spot where they insist on making war on us."

– Indigena

THE MAPUCHE PEOPLE

An estimate of the present-day Mapuche population is as follows:

Cautin	Province	229,509
Malleco		108,840
Bio-Bio		6,260
Arauco		7,715
Valdivia		41,950
Osborn		
Osorno		9,161
Llanquihue		101
	Total Rural Population	403,536

To this total figure should be added those Mapuches who live in urban centers. These have been estimated to be about 400,000 persons, making the total Araucanian population, including mestizos, about one million people. Returning to the analysis of the rural population of 403,536 persons, the following antecedents have been taken into account: that between the years 1884 and 1929, 77,841 Mapuches received 3,078 *titulos de merced* (land grants) containing a surface of 475,422 hectares.

This figure does not include those Mapuche groups who, up until 1929, did not receive property titles. On the other hand, it is also a fact that in the total number of land grants are included some communities who did not acquire the necessary documents to maintain secure title.

In Chile, every time the necessity has arisen to debate the Indian question, the basic model considered has been the Mapuche population. The reason resides in the fact that the Mapuche are the most numerous extant native population in the country. In parliamentary debates to modify indigenous legislation, ministers of state and functionaries, as well as members of the National Congress, formulate their positions in terms of the difficulties faced by Araucanians.

Concrete Problems and Realities of the Indian

Before explaining the goals and objectives of the Popular government in its policy for the Mapuche sector, it is important to know the concrete problems and realities which surround the life of each agrarian sector. Likewise, it is basic not to confuse the word "sector" with "sectarianism", and to have a very clear idea of what is meant by Peasant Unity. Further, it is necessary to understand that each "sector" – wage laborers, small farmers, Mapuche peasants – ought to be seen as a "strategic front of the peasant struggle."

The concrete reality which surrounds the life of the Mapauche peasant sector is of two types, depending on whether the community has been divided (i.e., allotted) or not.

Characteristics of the Divided Mapuche Community

Without detailed commentary, some of the characteristics of the divided or allotted communities are as follows: permanent discrepancies and great difficulties in the location and betterment of roads; indifference or lack of interest in the construction of schools by the community, either because of apathy on the part of individuals or because the community goes unnoticed as if it did not exist; the reserve itself is easily stamped on by strangers, and for the same reason, individuals are not respected. Many times there are bullies who step on the meek, and the community remains indifferent and apathetic to insults and injustice against their neighbors, kinsmen, and fellow members.

The division of an Indian community usually begins with severe problems and difficulties. Many of the allottees lose their plots and gardens, and are forced to take down their houses and to relocate to a new site which they have been assigned. The division is a true deceit for the Mapuche peasant, because he is made to believe that he will become a landowner, with an authorized title to individual property, and that in this condition, he will be able to progress, and hence end his social and economic problems.

Along with this came an enormous number of disputes over roads, water, boundaries, corrals, damages caused by animals, etc. Further, these micro-minifundias created a situation where it was impossible to technify and mechanize agricultural labor in an economically-profitable fashion. Thus the Mapuche were obligated to choose the only road open to them for the future, and this consisted in going into debt in such an extreme that they were forced to sell their little land.

As proof of the facts exposed, and referring only to these divided communities, we are able to say that the vast majority of adults who 30 years ago knew a reserve that was recently divided, were able to see a couple of dozen small micro-minifundio proprietors, each one with their respective cabin or house. Today, if they pass again through these same places, they will find that everything has disappeared, or at least almost all of those cabins, in some more, in others less. In their place, they will find two or three proprietors, or a large latifundia that has extended its domain.

What happened to these former small Indian proprietors? They were simply deceived by dirty tricks – obligated by progressive indebtedness to sell their lands, or forced, for various reasons, to leave their land.

This is what has been termed the division of the community. This is what has been called Law 14.511, a further deceit, amongst many, by which the Mapuche have lost their lands.

Characteristics of the Organized Mapuche Community

Thus far, we have described the characteristics of some Indian communities that are identified by an absolute absence of all forms of organization. Now, briefly, we shall see what happens in those communities that have some organization, good or deficient, formal or informal, permanent or occasional, without pausing to consider or evaluate the grade, maturity, or structure of the organization that a community has preferred to give itself. We shall limit ourselves to merely indicating some aspects which distinguish these organized Indian communities from those which have been divided.

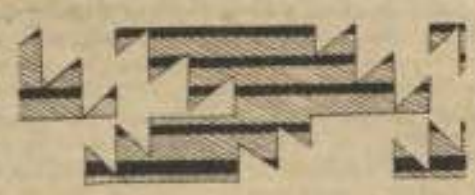
These aspects are the following: there exists a spirit, many times dynamic, revolutionary, and militant, such that the least effort facilitates and simplifies the planning of roads and the distribution of water for irrigation and the drinking of animals. Solidarity and unity are each time stronger and more powerful. The community reacts against any type of insult committed against any of its members. It obtains technical assistance and credit and makes donations of land for the construction of schools; they are recognized, consulted and participate in reunions with the public authorities; given their unity, they do not let nor accept insults from strangers. They do community work, schools, roads, bridges, cemeteries, fields for sports, etc. And they will not accept "bullies" in their midst.

In these undivided communities, the Indians have not lost their lands. To the contrary, they have maintained them, and have not suffered the experience of complicated legal processes in relation to property, the payment of taxes, the bitter subdivision through inheritance, the judgments concerning partition and the legal processes of effective possession, payments of fees to lawyers and others – all of which represent enormous expenses many times greater in real value than the small properties themselves.

For those communities which are loosely organized and whose members are loosely united, there exist great possibilities for the strengthening of the community, and the extension of the estate of the "reserve." To the degree that the new Indian law is approved in the terms in which it has been solicited by the Mapuche, the surface of lands can be amplified through the legal recuperation of lands which were usurped and through the purchase of new lands.

Land Invasions and Discrimination

In the years following the founding of Temuco, it was the thieves and assassins who invaded and seized the lands. The national press, however, did not give these criminal facts the least importance. Yet today, when the Mapuche, tired of having protested for more than 40 years, and having been insulted by ineffectual laws, have attempted to recuperate what is legally and legitimately theirs, with authorized documents in hand and with papers from the offices of State, the press has



made rapid judgments and has informed public opinion in large letters on the front page. The Mapuche, they claim, have insulted the "right of property". No, the Mapuche have not insulted the right of property – they have only claimed what is theirs, with property titles in hand, the so called *titulos de merced* of commissions and others.

Thus, when the Mapuche people offered the least bit of resistance, they were said to be thieves, people without shame before their social and economic problems. Reality, though, has demonstrated the situation to be something quite different. What occurred with the division was the total destruction of Indian communities, and with it, the creation of small minifundia properties, which in rare cases exceeded 5 hectares in size, and on the average were 4,3,1 or less than ½ hectare per family head. Further, the presence of bandits and assassins forced our Mapuche brothers into refuge and hiding, and for this no one can responsibly affirm that the present land invasions and seizures are the least bit novel.

Those of us who know the facts of this situation do not remember having seen a single notice in public view and large letters which, for example, read:

"After more than 50 years of protests and disputes a tribunal declared valid the title of dominion of a group of Mapuches."

"Why have so many injustices been tolerated?"

To think of such an unreal, nonexistent, and illusory notice is purely a dream and a waste of time. Nevertheless, the slow and inefficient state tribunals, regulated by ineffectual laws, have more than once judicially established that there were land invasions, destruction of orchards and gardens, burning of houses, expropriation of land and animals, in illegal, violent, and unlawful form against Indians. And all of these diabolic and evil actions committed by thieves, assassins, arsonists, and greedy individuals have never constituted news.

Why? Very simply because of discrimination, in capital letters: DISCRIMINATION.

There have also existed within almost all of the communities seizures of land, animals, and harvests, all of this pressured by the desperation caused by the extreme minifundia, by hunger, and by absolute misery. These cases have not occurred in the dozens or hundreds, but in the scores of thousands, as evidenced by the tons of legal documents which exist in each of the extant Indian Courts. But all of this has also never made the national news. And why? As we have already said, and while we continue to face the problem, we shall repeat – because of DISCRIMINATION, a true expression of an indifferent, unjust, exploitative, and vampire-like society that feeds and entertains itself indifferent to the pain of others.

The Specific Functions of the Regional Assns.

In the cities and rural towns of the country, there are numerous associations, labor unions, and other types of organizations formed by different sectors. These organizations, in general, can be sub-divided according to the necessities, problems, and characteristics, more or less homogenious, which distinguish them. Using diverse methods of pressure in order to obtain solutions to their particular problems, generally these organizations have been heard by private businesses and state authorities. Thus we find a series of parallel and independent institutions, although all are united in the CUT (Union of Chilean Workers) and all are classified by sectors that obey concrete, uniform and homogeneous realities such as occur with groups of townsmen, professors, construction and railway workers, etc.

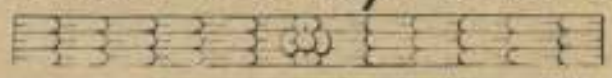
Any organizations that attempt to realize a number of actions always becomes ineffectual, because as an adage says, "He that attempts too much accomplishes very little." For this, both reason and experience counsel that there must be a specialized organization for determinate circumstances, situations, and problems, especially in affairs so complex and distinct as those of Indians. The conclusions of the National Mapuche Congress, and of each one of the communities are that because of their distinct realities and problems, there should be Regional Mapuche Associations with concrete and specific functions in order to preoccupy themselves with those affairs so unknown that they escape the understanding of the other laboring sectors.

The Banners of Struggle of the RMA

The banners of struggle of the Regional Mapuche Associations are:

1) to fight for the land
2) to combat ignorance and illiteracy
3) to recuperate unlawfully usurped lands
4) to terminate the subdivision of communities
5) to fight for the real and true incorporation of the Agrarian Reform
6) to combat the exploiters defended by the Right
7) to combat and annihilate discrimination
8) to combat blind sectarianism
9) to ensure that the land belongs to those who work it
10) to ensure that credit and technical assistance will be for those who work the land
11) to combat the campaign of humiliation and hatred let loose against the Mapuche
12) to defeat the latifundistas
13) to fight that the workers will advance to Power
14) to end the hunger, cold, and robbery provoked by the usurpers and exploiters.
15) to open the doors of all the universities and provide support to the great mass of Mapuche students
16) to defend those functionaries who respect the free decisions and determinations agreed upon by the peasants
17) to combat the prepotent bureaucrats and the false pseudo-revolutionaries
18) to fight for more scholarships, more education, more lands, more work, and better housing
19) to fight for the triumph of the battle of production
20) to ensure that the divided communities and the lands of the Mapuches in the provinces of Osorno, Llanquihue, Valdivia, Cautin, Malleco, Bio-Bio, and Arauco continue in the quality of Indian lands, and to combat the defenders of usurpation
21) to seek the imprisonment of the assassins and exterminators of the Mapuche
22) to combat those who pretend to insult and divide the Mapuche people
23) to fight for the passage of an indigenous law, drastically and revolutionarily in favor of the Mapuche
24) to fight for the passage of an indigenous law, not like that desired by the enemies of the Mapuche and the defenders of the usurptors, but to fight for a law like the Mapuche people have come to ask and petition time and time again
25) to strengthen, affirm, and obtain the total organization of the Indian communities by means of the Regional Mapuche Associations
26) to obtain the economic, social, cultural, and political liberation of the Mapuche peasant
27) to obtain the reactivation and participation of the combative spirit of the Mapuche woman in the revolutionary struggle of the present process for fundamental changes.

Testimony Of A Chilean Woman Who Left Chile September 29, 1973



The zone of Cautin, where we lived, 70 miles from Temuco, the capital city, is traditionally a right-wing zone of large landed-estates. Estate owners had all their businesses and interests in the city and had not invested any capital, nor introduced any technology, on their big ranches.

Cautin is also the land of the Indians, the Mapuches. There are around 2,000 "reducciones" (small reservations) with a total of about 174,000 Mapuches.

Under the government of Allende, these Mapuches had recovered part of their lands, usually by "takeovers", which means that little by little they would move their fences and take possession of the land that was theirs by right. The Agrarian Reform Law would expropriate these lands, and turn them over to the farmers who had always worked them without any benefit for themselves or their families. Organizations like INDAP and CORA lent technical assistance and taught them to organize themselves. Various institutions were established among them, and the Provincial Farmers' Council was set up where for the first time, the Indian farmers began to manage their own destiny.

But there remained large landowners who were economically very powerful, and who were secretly organizing. We knew some of them. Three days after the coup, I went to talk to a German by the name of Gustavo Hott. We had maintained a tactful social relationship with him. Without knowing my intentions, he talked to me openly. He had placed his vehicle at the disposal of the Carabineros (Chilean rural police) and he accompanied them at night, dressed in a uniform provided by them, and armed to kill Indians, as he himself explained to me.

His excuse was that the Mapuches were arming, and were resisting. I knew how these Indians lived – in very poor shacks with very large families, and they spent all of their time working in order to feed their loved ones. He explained to me in detail how they pulled them out of their shacks, killed them, and threw the bodies in the Tolten River which flowed nearby our home. Some of them they took prisoner, blindfolded and gagged and bound hand and foot, in vehicles provided by the patrol members.

We had occasion to see these trucks loaded with Indians, as if they were animals, with ten or twelve soldiers with machine guns guarding them. These people were tortured until they revealed information or names of people who were sympathizers of the Allende government, and then immediately they were killed. The jails would not hold all of them, and so they killed them and left their bodies by the roadside. Anyone who went to the police headquarters to ask about his relatives was insulted and threatened.

On the reservations, very few men were left. They took even boys of 13 and 14 years, who suffered the same fate as their elders.

This individual also told me how the National Party and "Patria y Libertad", a clandestine Nazi organization, were organized all around us and even on a national level. A neighbor of ours by the name of Correa told us that the home of another neighbor, Miguel Bravo, was the general headquarters of "Patria y Libertad" and that its president, Pablo Rodriguez, came in person to train them. They were very well equipped with radio transmitters and communications equipment. Pablo Rodriquez had escaped from Ecuador after the abortive attempted coup of July 1973, but had entered Chile secretly two days before the coup of September 11.

All of this was told to us by these people themselves, they are so sure that in Chile not a single Marxist will remain who will dare to raise his head, as they put it in their own words.

When I asked Hott what he thought of all this killing, he replied that as a matter of fact, the military were going too far killing so many people, but that after all, they were unproductive people and that in Chile there were far too many people. His wife was present during this conversation, during which she served me desserts and drinks that she took out of a big refrigerator. I insisted on the cruelty that all this meant, and he finally said that he was grateful to the military, that if it had not been for them, he and his family would be dead, since the Communists had planned to kill 80% of the population and that they were now paying them back for it. Upon that, he stood up and said he had to go to work and produce for this new Chile, and that he had already wasted a lot of time.

Little by little, our security was threatened, since we had organized a large Farmers' Supply Center where through various government organizations, we stocked products essential to the farmers at the official price. There was a serious food shortage due to the cornering of the market by right-wing elements and the economic blockade. We had gained the confidence of the people around us, and we all worked very closely together. We were quite well known in the countryside, and in the nearest village, which is Pitrufquen. Before the coup, and after Congress had approved the Arms Control Law, the military came twice to our house, dressed in civilian clothes, looking for arms. There was a report that we were a Marxist center. They questioned our neighbors, but these spoke up for us. All of them told the truth about us, that we had no arms, and that we had helped them a great deal. Nothing would convince the military, however; the fact that I was chairwoman of the Supply Center marked me as an extremist and a possessor of arms, since they alleged that Cuban arms were hidden inside the sacks of sugar that we brought into the Center.

Near us was the Puraquina Reservation. It was there that the first Supply Center in Cautin was formed. Its president, a Mapuche of 60 years of age, had taught us a lot and had helped us to organize. He used to come to see us, on horseback, and we had long conversations. He impressed us very much with his wisdom and the human warmth with which he treated us.

The day of the coup, Paraquina was subdued, and almost all of the men were taken including our friend; he was taken to the military headquarters in Villarica to be shot as an extremist.

Every night they patrolled our house to see if anyone came or went. We heard the chatter of machine guns in the vicinity, cars coming and going, and dogs barking furiously. After about four such nights, I again went to talk to the German, Hott, and I asked him bluntly to tell me what our situation was, and how much danger we were in if we stayed. He answered sarcastically that now was the time to take a "vacation" and the sooner the better.

In Temuco, all our friends were either imprisoned, shot, or in hiding, among them two well-known psychiatrists,, people who did a lot of work among the poor, almost always without charge.

We left our house the morning of September 18, which is our national independence day. We passed through the village very early; the patrols had been celebrating the night before and probably were drunk, since we didn't find any of them on our way through the village. We left with our three children and four suitcases, leaving everything behind.

We journeyed to Santiago on the 20th, in a public bus. On the ten-hour trip, we were searched by four military patrols. They detained us, made the passengers get off the bus, searched us thoroughly, and demanded our documents. I noticed that those of our fellow passengers who looked poor or who had Indian features were much worse treated and much more thoroughly searched. Nobody spoke – we all merely looked at each other with great sadness and shame. These soldiers did not seem Chilean – they did not seem to be our brothers.

On September 29, we left Santiago after a long struggle to obtain our papers. My husband's father had sent us the plane tickets; otherwise it would have been impossible for us to leave

My family took us to within a kilometer of the airport, where soldiers with submachine guns were checking those entering and leaving. There we were put on a bus, and we arrived at the airport around 2:30 p.m.; the plane left at 6:30. They searched all our luggage, and submitted us to a complete body search, even our youngest daughter, nine months old.

We have received two letters from our farmer friends, asking us not to return yet, as the situation is very difficult. Both were extremely appalled and surprised at the amount of violence and brutality that is being committed. 90% of the land has been returned to its former owners. All the farmers' organizations have been abolished and since the poor and the Indians have no land, and there are too many of them, the easiest way to solve this very difficult problem is to kill them.

(Thanks to our friends in the east who sent this article, which was translated from the Spanish language by Janet Lugo, to whom we also are very grateful.)

Story of the Wycliffe Translators

Pacifying the Last Frontiers

"Christianity", as it is exercised by many missionary groups, has an ideological character as well as a religious character. Native people need to have an understanding of how missions have functioned in regard to native educational/political/social customs, as well as an alternative to the Original Instructions given to them by the Creator.

Sincere Christians, too, need to make this investigation, so that energies channeled into mission work motivated by authentic human solidarity, will not be used to advance political and economic interests of governments and corporations.

Churches have been, by and large, part of the socializing machinery which has wrought so much havoc in the lives of native peoples. Churches have reinforced and supported the rule of the "civilizers" – what the churches say they are doing, and what actually happens as a result of their presence are two different things.

This article shows some of the uses and abuses of religious volunterism, showing how a missionary program exploits the goodwill of religious individuals for the expansion and consolidation of colonials and imperialists. The article is adapted from research reported by the North American Congress on Latin America, Inc., which publishes a monthly newsletter at 160 Claremont Ave., New York, N.Y. 10027. We are grateful to NACLA for their assistance.)

For hundreds of years, the collusion of government, commercial, and religious interests has brought about the genocidal displacement and concentration of indigenous peoples living on the frontiers of capitalism. While "Christianizing savages," missionaries have seldom questioned the "need" for taking the lands of tribal people, but rather have seen it as the "inevitable advance of Civilization." Believing themselves the harbingers of "modern civilization," they have in fact served as a cultural vanguard of a massive robbery on the frontiers of imperialist expansion, with no regard for the sovereign dignity of native peoples. Certain mission agencies, attempting to make aggression seem less cruel, have provided a velvet-gloved alternative to the iron fist of armed conquest. As a pacification force, they have used religion to substitute "peace" (surrender) and "hope" (promise of reward in an afterlife) for "death and destruction." What these missionaries ignore, however, is that they are continuing the ancient practice of destroying the identity and resistance of a people by getting them to worship the gods of their conquerors.

In the past, "peace treaties" were sometimes signed between the colonizing nation and the native nations. The "rights and benefits" conceded to the Indians by their "benevolent" conquerors were usually a piece of wasteland considered useless by economic interests at that time. These reservations, where starvation was endemic, became the graveyard of thousands upon thousands of indigenous persons.

In the last hundred years, however, so much gold, oil, and uranium have been discovered on these otherwise unusable lands that "democratic governments" are becoming embarrassed to be seen repeatedly turning over the reservations to business interests. Thus, a new strategy has been adopted by many countries (such as Brazil and Colombia). Instead of treating indigenous peoples as conquerored nations with rights, these are regarded as backward sectors of the conquering nation who have to be "educated and integrated" into it. (Or there is the United States and Canadian alternative of regarding native nations as "citizens" of the conqueroring nations "with equal rights" and "a special heritage".) The objective of these integration policies is to remove the tribal peoples in order to complete the control of national territory by the dominant class of the prevailing national group.

In Latin America, the example chosen for this article, the situation of native peoples is extremely precarious at this time. Acts of direct aggression (massacres) and policies of "integration" (forced migrations) are breaking apart the vestiges of indigenous society. Indian land has been appropriated for national and international "development".

WBT assists in this cycle of exploitation on two fronts – in contacting, concentrating, and converting indigenous groups to facilitate their removal from areas desired by national and international corporations, and lending technical assistance in the suppression of native resistance, and 2) in imposing, by way of Christianity, patterns of thought and behaviour which fragment and neutralize native communities and turn their members into marginal individuals, unable to live in the larger society, and equally uncomfortable following the ways of their people in their own communities.

" Twenty-one [oil] companies with 1500 men are working there. As they advance, we fly ahead of them and explain to Aucas living in their path that they are coming. We persuade them that they should move out of the way. This is done by Christian Aucas through a loud speaker mounted on the plane. . . . not one life lost to date. PRAISE GOD!!

– a Wycliffe pilot

For all their abuses, the reservations have offered indigenous peoples a minimum territorial base for preservation of their collective existence and culture. The "integration" policies, however, designed to abolish the reservation, wipe out the material basis for any possible continuance of indigenous culture. These policies force upon the Indians a whole spectrum of relationships based on the private ownership of property and remove the underpinnings of their cultural survival.

Or again, the United States and Canadian example, which has discovered that reservations can be exploited more efficiently when in federal control (where state laws do not apply and where government exercises trust responsibility) than in private hands. There, the effort has been to maintain or even increase the size of the reservations, but to remove the people through relocation programs, or to maintain them as a low-cost labor pool, or to exploit them for the tourist industry.

Once deculturated, the native people are forced into marginal situations. Culturally, they are in a society to which they cannot completely adjust. Racially, they remain an excluded minority. Economically, they are needed only as a surplus labor pool. Thus, the integration of tribal peoples into the prevailing national group means the disintegration of the social, economic, and political life of their own group.

A first step towards "integration" is to teach the indigenous people the language and customs, as well as the religion, of their conquerors. This initial phase is often met with resistance as the indigenous people draw together to stem the invasion. It is at this juncture that the exponents of the translation mission are active. In order to overcome indigenous resistance, they skillfully manipulate people's wants and needs to effect a quiet resignation to eventual genocide, be it cultural or physical.

The Wycliffe Bible Translators

The Wycliffe Bible Translators, who specialize in linguistic and religious work among tribal peoples, effectively combine scientific technique with religious mystification to give a new facade to this old process of pacifying and pillaging native peoples.

WBT, also known as the Summer Institute of Linguistics, is a non-profit, non-denominational missionary organization with some 3000 members in 25 countries. It is the largest Protestant missionary-sending agency in the world. It's budget is over $8.7-million, plus hidden income and assistance well into the millions. Financial support comes from private donations in the U.S., grants from U.S. government agencies, and assistance from host governments abroad.

The stated objective of the Wycliffe Bible Translators is to bring the Christian Gospel to the 2,000 peoples of the world whose language is as yet unwritten and who therefore do not have access to the Bible. It takes on this mission which includes *linguistics* (the study and transliteration of the native language), *literacy* (teaching the native people to read and write this language) and *translation* of the Bible (in fulfillment of the New Testament command to bring the teachings of Christ to all peoples. The WBT believes that when the Bible has been made available to all peoples, Christ will return to earth to reign for a period of one thousand years.

WBT does not establish its own churches – it just does the translation, plowing the field for harvest by established church groups. Its mission is considered complete when the New Testament and a selected part of the Old Testament have been translated, and a nucleus of literate indigenous believers has been established to carry on when the translators have gone.

The world-wide "evangelical advance" of WBT is a religious manifestation of U.S. cultural and economic imperialism.

The University of Indian-Land Acts as Host

WBT was begun in the 1930s by William Cameron Townsend of Orange County, California. It was founded as a religious corporation, but soon it was found that an alternate identity was needed for diplomatic purposes. Thus Townsend created the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) as a "scientific" corporation – theoretically involved only in pure linguistic and educational research.

In 1942, WBT/SIL moved to the University of Oklahoma. In the years that followed, summer courses were initiated in several other universities in the U.S. and abroad. Although these classes are open to anyone, those who participate in the SIL field operations are necessarily Bible translators or support workers, not merely linguists, for it is WBT which sends them out.

The scientific achievement, under such respected scholars as Kenneth Pike and Eugene Nida, of SIL is without question. With a high recommendation and as a non-religious institution, SIL has moved into areas previously off-limits to Protestant organizations. This expansion has led to the formation of the Jungle Aviation and Radio Service (JAARS). In Latin America alone, JAARS maintains a fleet of 30 aircraft, including a DC-3 cargo plane and two Helio-Couriers for short take-off and landing.

WBT + SIL + JAARS = WBT

The three organizations deliberately confuse their relationship with overlapping boards and purposes, and addressing themselves to different publics. SIL makes contracts with foreign governments, organizes training sessions in linguistics, and takes charge of field work. WBT recruits the field volunteers and represents the organization to the churches, to other missions, and to the lay public in the United States who support the field work through private donations. JAARS goes after technical experts in aviation and communications and still a fourth group, Wycliffe Associates, has emerged recently, apparently for fund-raising purposes in the conservative business community.

WBT is not mentioned in SIL publicity literature. No evangelical activity of any kind is mentioned. There is a clause in most of SIL's contracts, however, which asserts that SIL may undertake the "moral improvement" of the indigenous group. It appears that this is the loop-hole through which WBT's Christian Soldiers find their way into "Catholic" Latin America.

SIL represents itself as an independent agency, but it is not, and its first priority in the field is evangelization. The linguistic orientation was and is a tactic in the conversion strategy – an extremely successful tactic both politically with host nations, and as a way to gain the trust of the indigenous peoples.

"As our workers have gone into these areas as dedicated linguists, God has used their testimony once they have established their identity as scientific experts," is the way SIL's president, Kenneth Pike, puts it.

WBT's sophisticated field methodology is unique among Protestant missions.

According to Townsend, it "trades upon three facets in their mentality that are common to almost all primatives: their pride in their own language, their eagerness to better themselves economically, and their insatiable curiosity."

Thus Wycliffe Bible Translators have been able to establish themselves among groups which have rejected the simpler conversion tactics of earlier missionaries. And in addition to the linguistic and literacy work, the translators engage in medical aid, sanitation programs, and programs for "economic development."

> **"The natives of the [Hawaiian] islands number only about 50,000 and the whites about 3,000, chiefly Americans. According to Captain Cook, the natives numbered 400,000 less than a hundred years ago. But the traders brought labor and fancy disease – in other words, long deliberate, infallible destruction; and the missionaries brought the means of grace and got them ready. So the two forces are working along harmoniously and anybody who knows anything about figures can tell you exactly when the last Kanaka will be in Abraham's bosom, and his islands in the hands of the whites. It is the same as calculating an eclipse . . . "**
>
> **– Mark Twain**

The Eternal Punishment for the Lost

An ethnocentric bias is inherent in the very fact of missionary activity, but the Wycliffe translators find it expedient to accommodate themselves in some respects to the cultures within which they work. As missionaries go, Wycliffe people are not as aloof and contemptuous of the indigenous culture as their colleagues. In the field, they live with the native people, but in their base camps, they maintain U.S.-style houses and indigenous servants.

They are usually highly motivated – they must often find their own support, and pay for their own training, which can run as high as $6,000. Their theology is conservative – they are required to adhere to the organization's "Statement of Doctrine." That is, they must believe in "the fall of man, his consequent moral depravity, and his need of regeneration," as well as "the eternal life of the saved and the eternal punishment of the lost" and the authority of Scriptures as unerring divine inspiration.

It follows that if the indigenous people come to adhere to this Christian ideology, they necessarily come to despise their own culture, which has damned them, and to adulate that of the missionaries, which has saved them. They will suffer their oppression in the image of the suffering Jesus as the basis for the development of "self-esteem".

"This esteem becomes an integral part of the tribesman's experience when Christ enters his life," Wycliffe's *Translation* magazine reports. "He no longer feels worthless and downtrodden. Christ died for *him* and life takes on new meaning. Scripture in his own language gives him the stamina he needs to withstand persecution."

A long look at *Translation* gives a clear view of the ideology – the religious, social, and political worldview – behind the translation mission. The articles are often simple essays by translators, characterizing indigenous people as children, born by culture into sin and ignorance, "forgotten . . . illiterate . . . bound by superstition . . . living without hope . . . in Satan's stronghold." And, it is reported, they thirst for salvation.

Hunger and Death, or Everlasting Life

One recent article in *Translation* reported on a group of Brazilian people, Kaingaings, who are rounded up and sent off to a newly-formed boarding school for linguistic and literacy training. They are to be teachers for their own communities. At the orientation ceremony, a WBT/SIL speaker tells them this:

"You can choose between your own way of life, or the life of the *civilizado* [literally meaning, "the civilized, a term designating Brazilian nationals]. Each has a price and a recompense. For your way, the price is lack of progress, hunger, and death, and the recompense is a life without the pain of change. For the *civilizado* way, the price is work and maintaining what you've achieved. Your recompense is that you will have more."

Thus the native people are given the pretense of a choice – the genocide to which those Brazilian natives who choose to follow the ways of the Creation are subjected is well known. There is also the assumption that the salvation and liberation is entirely an individual choice, and yet in Latin American, native people are treated as a specific racial and social class and individual "liberation" can only mean exchanging oppression for bondage.

There is also the assumption made that "hunger and death" is the result of living in the traditional way, rather than a result of the intrusion of colonizing forces. It is oppression from the outside that causes death, and the hunger comes from the ecological imbalance caused by development and new population moving in. Furthermore, "hunger" is the lot of most Brazilians, *civilizado* or not.

The linguistic trainees were given further instructions: "The course purposed to integrate them into the Brazilian way of life and instill in them a sense of responsibility, ability to make judgments, initiative, self-identity. It aimed also to inspire them to serve and to demonstrate the value of study. With such a complete psychological restructure, the students needed to cultivate a more helpful attitude toward integration while appreciating their own language and culture."

So, while WBT/SIL talks about the "preservation of Indian culture," it actually is going for a psychological, social, and economic restructuring along the mode of "Christian" capitalism. The place reserved for indigenous "language and culture" is window-dressing. The culture is to be "appreciated", not lived. It is to be form, but not substance.

Every possible precaution is taken to insure that the undeniably political and collective struggle of the Brazilian native peoples be reduced to a question of personal psychology.

"By means of education, we fight for the emancipation of our people," is the motto chosen by the students at the linguistics school.

The Wycliffe writer also explains what freedom is in the context of native nations.

"Emancipation means that the Kaingaing must be liberated from the bonds of their own low estimation of themselves. While learning to integrate into Brazil's way of life, they must respect their own tradition and language," the writer says.

The last paragraph of the article reports that funds for bi-lingual education programs have been cut back "as the strategic Trans-Amazon Highway received top priority," but there is no explanation of the "strategy" and no mention of the slaughter of native people that accompanies the progress of the highway. There is no indication that the "strategy" for the Amazon basin is to open up Indian lands for exploitation by North American corporations. Neither is there discussion of just what "Brazil's way of life" is, nor discussion of Brazil's "Indian policy" or the history of the expropriation of lands by colonizing nations.

WBT/SIL's role is clearer, perhaps, in Vietnam, where it is maintained by generous grants from the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID).

"We are looking to God for the purchase of new headquarters in Saigon, and trusting Him for advance into Cambodia and other new tribes as He leads . . ." *Translation* reports. "Most frustrating of all is to learn of the endless supersititions and taboos which rule our friends here – chants, incantations, animal sacrifices, and sorcery are used constantly to try to appease the many demons which are feared by the highlanders," the translator reports, neatly transferring the scene of battle from the harsh realities to the hygenically mythical and religious.

There, as in South America, tribal people who have come under control of WBT/SIL's sponsors, the U.S., are dying out – some groups, like the Bruu, have only a tenth of the original population surviving since 1963. The rest languish in poorly-equipped refugee camps, dependent on official agencies for the wherewithal of survival. At least 85% of the Montagnards have been required by Saigon or the U.S. forces to leave their villages. Needless to say, these facts are not reported by *Translation*.

Uncle Sam's Right Arm

WBT/SIL is active in Mexico, Guatemala, Panama, Colombia, Surinam, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia and Brazil. It is also working with native groups in North America. Its official policy is to "cooperate with government officials". That means WBT/SIL takes no stand against governmental and industrial aggressions against indigenous groups.

SIL enters into a contract with the governments in those countries it is working. It is obligated to teach Spanish in addition to native languages in Peru and Colombia, for example, to lend its air and communications know-how to government, to disseminate national texts on civics, health, and morals. In return, SIL gets free fuel, the use of government air strips, and free office space, plus duty-free imports.

The missionaries contend that the problems of the native people come about because of their "isolation", which causes cultural and economic deprivation. This idea ignores the historical record of what has happened to native people over the last 500 years as their isolation, group by group, came to an end.

As an example, take the situation of native people in the tropical forest of Peru. They are "isolated" in WBT/SIL's terms, and yet the circumstances which have led them there are revealing.

In the first and second centuries after the Spanish conquest, Europeans had minimal interest in developing the tropical forests, but nonetheless they came to occupy the fertile riverside zones, forcing the indigenous people to migrate to areas poorer in natural resources. Mission centers were established, and where their influence reached, the native people were forced into a new society, usually at the bottom socio-economic rung.

In 1824, Bolivar led Peru to independence, and caused the dissolution of the highland Indian communities by permitting each member to sell an allotment of communal lands. That led to the development of large estates, in Creole hands, while the Indians found themselves without any land or any money. It was then they went into the tropical forests in search of new territory, joining there the population of their cousins who had left two centuries earlier. The population pressure was disastrous, and slave-merchants and plantation owners made frequent raids, wiping out 80% of many groups in this area within a decade.

Those who survived retreated further into the interior, into "isolation". Thus WBT/SIL's pursuit of these people into their homes is a continuation of a classic pattern, rather than a rescue from oblivion.

One of the original motivations for the WBT/SIL mission was a reaction on the part of some Christians to the crude exploitation of the Indians at the hands of plantation owners. But the missionaries objected only to the whiskey and the bloodshed, and not to the fundamental violation – that of the cultural and territorial sovereignty of an indigenous people by a colonizing people.

The labor of the Indian is no longer necessary in Latin America. What is necessary is the cooperation of the native people in projects of assimilation, forced migration, and the like, which deprive them of their land and culture. WBT/SIL gives "meaning" to the suffering of the Indian undergoing this process, urging them to bear their suffering as Christ bore his, and in this way, the native people cease to bother the dominant society.

– Translation

Ecuador: Wycliffe's emissary smiles as Cofan man ponders "progress".

Thus, the native people can become "a minority" even in those areas where they form far more than half the population.

The Continuing Conquest of the Auca

The Auca situation in Ecuador is probably the most widely publicized of all WBT/SIL enterprises. The Auca, who number only a few hundred, were until recently, reportedly aggressive and hostile, living in the eastern jungle. They were able to remain in control of their land by ruthlessly defending their ground.

(continued on next page)

The Jesuit missionaries, the Spanish conquistadors, the rubber hunters – all these groups had failed to subdue the Auca families, or to settle on their land. In the 1940s, Shell Oil tried some prospecting in the region, but withdrew after losing a number of employees to Auca arrows.

In 1956, five missionaries (not from Wycliffe) tried to establish a mission among the Auca. After landing in

Auca territory and making an apparently friendly contact, they were killed. But Rachel Saint, a translator whose brother Nate was among the slain missionaries, was determined to try again. She learned the language from an Auca woman who worked at a hacienda on the edge of Auca land. The woman, Dayuma, went back to her Auca relatives and convinced them to let Rachel Saint live with them. In this way, Rachel set about establishing the first permanent and Christian Auca settlement. Now and again she would return to the United States for fundraising. With a convert at her side, she would appear on television and at evangelical rallies. Her appearances brought in support money for WBT/SIL.

In 1964, the oil prospectors had moved into the area – Wycliffe ferried the first oil company geologist in a JAARS plane as he explored the area. Texaco and Gulf predominated in this venture with 25 other companies with the U.S. investment coming to more than $300-million. But the problem was that the oil was on land inhabited by the Aucas.

In 1971, "efforts were underway to bring the last group of wild Aucas to the reservation," Rachel Saint reported. This was quite a large group – half the Auca people, in fact. As non-Christian Aucas came to live with the Christian Aucas, conflicts developed and the nation became divided.

In the meantime; the oil companies moved in, discovered a rich strike, and are attempting to put wells there now. The Auca have received no compensation for their lost territory or its resources – except for an epidemic of polio that crippled or killed a large number of their people.

Rachel Saint feels it is inevitable that the Auca should make way – they are strategically and morally the weaker, she says, since they are not yet all with Christ. And yet it was Christianity that facilitated the oil company land-grab, by concentrating and pacifying the Auca people and disseminating an ideology of passivity in the face of injustice.

Bill Eddy, a JAARS flier who acts as liaison among the oil companies, the government, and the Aucas, sees the situation this way:

"Twenty-five years ago, the Shell Oil Company lost many workers to Auca spears. For several reasons, Shell decided to leave Ecuador. Suddenly, with the discovery of a vast reserve of oil under the Eastern Jungle, 21 companies are working 1500 men there. As they advance, we fly ahead of them, and explain to Aucas living in their path that they are coming in. We persuade them that they should move out of the way. This is done by Auca Christians through a loud speaker mounted on the plane. As the Indians move, we notify the oil companies. As a result of this close coordination by radio and telephone through our Quito office, there has not been one life lost to date. PRAISE GOD!!"

The Colombian Controversy Arises

The Summer Institute of Linguistics has been working in Colombia since 1962. In 1970, the repressive response of the armed forces to the Guahibo Nation's guerrilla defense of their lands against the encroachments of settlers in the eastern plains touched off a controversy about Indian policy which is still argued today.

Because of WBT/SIL's role in suppressing this revolt, its work became for a time the target of critical attack from anthropologists over who would control Indian policies.

Sometimes, native nations get two sets of intruders, each saying they carry the Word of God, but they don't get along with each other. Thus sometimes a Wycliffe-missionized group will also be under the influence of a Roman Catholic group, causing opposition between Catholic Indians and Protestant Indians. And since peace-making social institutions are vested in the traditionally-minded natives who are not liked by either group, there is no way for the people to once again become one family.

What brought the Guahibo case to public attention in the press were the protests of persons later associated with the Colombian Committee for the Defense of the Indian, a group including activist social scientists and affiliated with the Program to Combat Racism of the World Council of Churches. Their efforts were supported by the government's Coordinator for Indian Affairs.

In 1971, another group, the Movement for the Defense of National Culture, called for WBT/SIL's expulsion from the country. The furore generated by this attack caused a quasi-official group called the National Council on Indian Policy to commission a team of four anthropologists to study Wycliffe's role. After a tour of SIL's installations, they submitted a report in March 1972 (referred to here as the Correal Report.) The anthropologists praised Wycliffe's linguistic work, but called for tighter official control and a prohibition of any religious activity on the part of the organization among tribal peoples.

By late 1971, however, WBT/SIL was initiating an active campaign to improve its public relations, including an audience of William Cameron Townsend with Colombian President Misael Pastrana Borrero. It was confident it could ride out the storm.

Not all of the criticisms of Wycliffe by the anthropologists were for reasons which native people could appreciate. For instance, there was the objection that Wycliffe was a vigorously evangelical Protestant organization and Colombia is almost all nominally Catholic – WBT would slow down "integration" of the native people into the Colombian nation, they said, quite accurately. The ethnocentric translators often reveal their racism in bias against Catholics, a feature which is readily picked up by Christianized natives who have been treated none too kindly by Colombian nationals in the past.

WBT/SIL, it was charged, had provided air and radio support, as well as interpreters, for national police and military units suppressing the Guahibos who had taken up arms against Colombian nationals who settled on their lands in a U.S.-supported land-reform program.

The anthropologists and WBT/SIL eventually achieved a compromise agreement, each giving the other certain prestige in determining national Indian policy, and strengthening the establishment against which native voices must contend.

Challenging the Status Quo

Though Wycliffe boasts of its alliance with the rich and powerful, it is vulnerable to counterattack, especially on the homefront where it seeks trainees and financial support under cover of humanitarianism and millenial expectation. People who are concerned about genocide in South America may find some of the root causes at their own doorsteps, and need not hitch-hike to Rio de Janiero.

It would seem that anthropologists and linguists have an obligation to see that their own colleagues and departments adopt moral principles along with their "academic freedom". To date, there has been little or no ethical policing of WBT/SIL by the professionals, and until the "good guys" have cleaned up their own houses, they should expect little acceptance from native peoples in North America.

"If the native people come to adhere to the [Wycliffe] ideology, they necessarily come to despise their own culture, which has damned them, and to adulate that of the missionaries, which has saved them. They will suffer their oppression in the image of the suffering Jesus."

Among the church people, the source of the broad financial base, Christians should be concerned that WBT/SIL misuses religion to facilitate ethnocide by government and industry. Certainly Protestant groups would be outraged if Roman Catholics formed an agency and contracted with the U.S. Government to provide all basic education for American Indians, and the reverse would be equally true.

At the level of government, the public financing of the translation mission through AID and the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare can be challenged by Congressional investigation or public hearings under private auspices.

Even if WBT/SIL finds itself out of work in Latin America and elsewhere in the world, there is plenty of

– Harald Schultz/Camera Press –Translation

Wycliffe Founder William Cameron Townsend

need for its services among the European peoples in North America. As Red Jacket once said, he might have become a Christian if he'd ever met one.

And someone might translate the Ten Commandments into English – native peoples in North America might get their land back.

(Special thanks to Laurie Hart of NACLA).

AN INDIGENA BOOK REVIEW

LAND OR DEATH

Land or Death, *by Hugo Blanco. Pathfinder Press, N.Y. $2.50 paperback from NOTES.*

Hugo Blanco is considered "the most wanted man in Latin America" for a good reason. A decade ago, he organized the Quechua, native people of Peru, into a movement to regain lands stolen from them. This was crushed by the government, which recognized that it posed the greatest threat not only to Peru, but to Latin America's immensely privileged classes.

Thus, his book, *Land Or Death*, written in the El Fronton Island prison, has been called "one of the most significant contributions to the theory and practise of the Latin American revolution since the Cuban Revolution."

It is a personal and modest account of his role and a shocking account of the Indian experience in Peru. It tells of a land where it is a crime to be born an Indian, and where he dared to suggest that ultimate reform in the Andes lay in the hands of the Indian peasants.

Though a Marxist, the Communist Party in Peru "outlawed" him and the government put a price upon his head. Thus Hugo Blanco, half-Quechua himself, was rejected by his party and hunted like an animal for a year-and-a-half with 300 Quechua guerrillas. In the eyes of both communist and the privileged, he was dangerous. To be a communist was permissable, but to believe in Indianismo — the radical concept that Indians were human beings and should be treated as such — was unforgivable.

Thus, though Blanco is gone, and the Indians who followed him are still fighting for their lives against unbelievable exploitation, the land efforts are still going on today.

He had sought to unify, centralize, and give a strategy to this deeply-rooted sense of Indian nationalism and desire to live. In short, his book is an insight into the spark that will probably ignite the greatest Indian movement in history, and upon a continental scope at that.

In the early sixties, one of the most oppressed peoples in the Western Hemisphere began to rise. Then, tens of thousands did the unthinkable: they took back lands stolen from them, declared themselves human beings, stopped working for their exploiters. In the vanguard of this struggle, the most courageous and daring peasant unions arose in Chaupimayo.

Chaupimayo was the example, the inspiration. The lessons of Chaupimayo, written with the sweat and blood of hundreds of thousands of peasants, portrays for us the broad outlines of Peru's future liberation.

Blanco was the leader of Chaupimayo. He was born in Cuzco, and grew up fully aware of the superexploitation of the Quechua. He spent long days living with his people, learning their songs and becoming a part of the Quechua world. In 1954, still not twenty years old, Blanco travelled to Buenos Aires to study agronomy at the university. Returning to Lima, Blanco found himself in danger of arrest because of his part in organizing the famous "reception" for then United States Vice-President Richard M. Nixon. (Nixon was stoned in Lima, among other things.)

Years later, facing a death sentence in prison, he would recount in a letter, "I would refer to my personal experience precisely to demonstrate that it was nothing extraordinary, that any of you can accomplish even more with the same effort. I was a student with below-average abilities, with a below-average cultural level, with many limitations that I still have. My wish was the same as yours: to complete my professional studies in order to serve my people to the best of my abilities."

But in the university, Blanco reached a different analysis of what "the system" was all about.

"Then I saw what you are seeing: that becoming a professional meant becoming part of the fabric of a system, that my knowledge would be only to the tiniest degree useful to my people, and to a great degree useful to the enemy's apparatus. I understand that although my country needed technicians, it needed fighters more . . ."

Fleeing to Cuzco, he became involved with the Indian unions organized to regain the lands stolen from them. From there begins the book, *Land Or Death*, the title taken from the Quechua rallying cry.

"Death comes under different aliases in Spanish and Quechua: tuberculosis, pernicious anemia, pneumonia, *pijiu* (spring), *wayra* (winter), *layqa* (witchcraft). They call it by its aliases because its real name is an ugly word: starvation," Blanco writes. "In Cuzco, for centuries, the Indian had slouched along the streets with his poncho and his whispered Quechua. He had never dared, even when drunk, to mount the sidewalk or speak his Quechua out loud with his head held high. He was fearful of the misti (the non-Indian) who was the master of the city. He fled from the authorities or from whoever could force him to do a job for a pittance or for nothing, or who could force him to sell his few products brought from the countryside at any price offered him. The city of Cuzco meant all that to the Indian, who was degraded and humiliated on the streets, the plazas, in stores, markets, and public transportation. The city meant more, too: courts of law, the offices of lawyers and notaries, the provincial jail, the landlord's residence, where frequently a peasant, his wife, or his children had to do unpaid domestic work."

Blanco also describes how things changed when the Quechua first started to determine their own destiny.

"The mass meeting put the Indian on top of the monster. A concentration of ponchos in the main plaza, the heart of the city, the odor of coca and Quechua permeating the air. Quechua, out loud from the throat, Quechua shouted, threatening, tearing away the centuries of oppression. A march down the main streets, windows and doors of the powerful fearfully slammed shut at the advance of the multitudes, aggressive, insulting, threatening, shouting in Quechua truths. That's what the peasant meeting meant, aside from the specific object for each gathering.

The atrocities listed were numerous since the days the gamonale (landlord) was given control over the Indian peasant in a semi-feudal relationship.

"Another example was the hacienda bordering Paltaybamba, Santa Rosa-Chaupimayo, the seat of my union. There, the gamonale Alfredo Romainville strung up a naked peasant to a mango tree, and, among other things, flogged him all day in the presence of his own daughters and other peasants. Another peasant could not find the horse his master had told him to find. Romainville forced him down on all fours, ordered him to put on the horse's harness, and compelled him to haul six arrobas (150 pounds) of coffee. He made him travel in this fashion, on hands and knees, around the patio where the coffee was dried, lashing him with a whip. He forced the women to shell peanuts without pay until their hands bled, and then with their mouths until those were bloody too. He had his own daughter born of a peasant woman he had raped, jailed as a 'communist'. His brother was not satisfied with raping the peasant women himself — he forced a peasant at gunpoint to rape his own aunt."

Blanco describes how the landlord Marquez took the children borne by the women he had raped and drowned them in the river. And there were other atrocities:

"With a hot cattle branding-iron, the landlord Bartolome Paz seared onto the buttocks of a peasant the emblem of his hacienda. The landlord Angel Miranda did likewise. The landlord Vitorino printed his own money, so that the peasants could be compelled to buy whatever they needed from his hacienda. Dalmiro Casafranca murdered Erasmo Nuniga, secretary-general of the union of the hacienda Aranjues, by throwing him into the river. These crimes were not punished by the authorities — who were very often the landlords themselves."

Thus the Quechua formed unions. The sequence of events in Blanco's region led to the seizure of land of the landlords.

"We ignored strictly legal considerations. We took into account the ridiculously low price that the gamonales had paid for the mountain lands (I think it was ten cents per hectare). Since the landowners contributed absolutely nothing, and since the construction of the roads had also cost them nothing, the price we offered to pay them was virtually a gift. Nevertheless, it was guaranteed to give any gamonale a heart attack."

But all did not come easily, and there were problems in publicizing and spreading the movement. With the massacre of twenty-two peasants in Pasco, though, word got around.

"Under the pressure of Lucho Zapatas and other members of the FIR, the FTC (Blanco's union) held a meeting in Cuzco and raised three demands: the return of the Cerro de Pasco Copper Corporation, a Yankee enterprise that had been encroaching on communal lands in various departments in the center of the country); the punishment of the Civil Guards who had committed the murders; and compensation for the families of the murdered peasants."

The course of the movement changed, however, with a brutal atrocity committed by a landowner — after that, the struggle was guerrilla fighting.

"The landlord put the barrel of a gun to the chest of a child, threatening to shoot if the child didn't tell where Bolanos could be found, although the child didn't know his whereabouts. The landlord then propped the gun barrel on the child's arm and fired."

This news arrived almost simultaneously with the news of the heightened repression in the rest of La Convencion and Lares and of the massacre at the Cuzco meeting.

"We convoked an assembly of the Chaupimayo union. Before this assembly, the secretary-general of Qayara stated his case. The peasants grasped the extreme importance of the case. Therefore, when they agreed to send a commission to Qayara, they authorized it not only to bear arms, as was the custom in those cases, but expressly 'to make use of them if necessary.' We never reached Qayara. Faced with the stupidity of the police at the Pujiura post, who believed that 'the Indian never shoots,' we were forced into our first armed clash, with the result that a policeman was shot. (He turned out to be one of those who had committed the Qayara atrocity.) After finding a doctor in the town and leaving the wounded policeman in his hands, we took refuge in the mountains. We had to choose between dying of malaria and going down fighting. We chose the latter . . ."

The rest is history. Blanco also expands upon much of the background behind the Indian movement.

"It is somewhat paradoxical, but my tayta (father) did not like to use the word Indian because it is the whip that the mestizos use to beat us, and for that reason among ourselves we say *runa*. He was certainly astonished when I used the term "Indian". I tell him yes, that is precisely the whip, the whip we have wrenched from the landlord's hands to brandish before his very eyes. The simple act of exhalting something Indian is already revolutionary. It means showing the world, and the Indian himself, that Indians are people although they don't want to believe it."

The cultural and spiritual aspects of the struggle became important in Peru just as it did in recent years in North America, Blanco reports.

"The *huayno* (a highland Indian song type) the *quena* (flute), the Quechua language, the poncho, the legends, the customs — simply by showing them with pride is already to fight, is already to shout the war cry. It shows the Indian himself and it shows everyone we are a people with a personality and that we have the intention of seeing that this personality is respected."

Blanco is critical of liberal do-good efforts and the double standards of justice.

"During famines, the gringos (they are so nice!) sometimes send us as charity maize and powdered 'milk' . . . I don't ask that they distribute that charity to us; I ask that they return to us what is ours, so that there will be no famines. It was my first cousin, Zenon Galdos, who asked them to distribute it; it cost him dearly — for asking that, Senor Araujo, the mayor of Huanoquite, shot him dead with one bullet. Senor Araujo was not arrested; he is from a good family. . . These things do not constitute crimes in Peru; to oppose them, however, does constitute an unpardonable crime; to abolish this state of affairs is an even greater crime."

Blanco was in Chile when the recent coup took place, with the subsequent executions of foreign political refugees. He took refuge in the Swedish Embassy, and was spirited safely out of the country. Many of his friends did not make it. Hundreds of others who also tried to reach safety in the Mexican Embassy perished.

Sweden's prestigious daily paper, *Dagens Nyheter*, noted Blanco's arrival in Mexico City. "The Peruvian peasant leader Hugo Blanco is tired and grim, but unbroken, even though he is on the run, this time from Chile." Perhaps there will be other books in the future that will speak to native peoples all over the earth.

(We are grateful to Ben Muneta for this book review done for Indigena for publication in AKWESASNE NOTES.

americanism is the answer

(This article is by Dr. Jack D. Forbes, one of the founders of D-Q University, a joint Chicano/Indian place of higher education and co-publisher of AKWESASNE NOTES. Dr. Forbes is a professor at the University of California at Davis, and we are grateful to him for this essay.)

AMERICANISM IS THE ANSWER

The United States, and the rest of America, both north and south, are being destroyed. The land is being ripped open and left unhealed. The forests are being decimated or turned into artificial "tree-farms". The rivers, lakes, and ocean shores are being polluted. The asphalt-concrete-and-plastic jungles of overseas European culture are being extended constantly, leaving behind decaying ruins filled with the rejected sectors of human society.

The destruction of the American earth and its animal and plant children is accompanied by the destruction and corruption of human beings, a corruption highlighted by the $2.5-billion "pornography" industry in the United States, the crisis of Watergate (with all the little Watergates both exposed and unexposed) and the continued campaign to liquidate native American tribal groups from Patagonia to Alaska. It is accompanied by the continued exploitation of poor people everywhere, the existence of deep-seated racism and ethnic and class chauvinism, the largely obscene and shallow nat › U.S. television and motion picture indust ɔrrors of the "illegal" Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos wars, and the growing costs of maintaining literally millions of persons in prisons, mental institutions, "sanitariums," "old people's homes," and coercive "schools."

Most people are aware that the various societies of "the Americas"[1] suffer from tremendous social ills but few Overseas Europeans[2] are willing or able to come to grips with the basic cause of the continent's evils.

To gain some idea of the nature of America's problems, let us review some of the undesirable cultural characteristics brought to North America[3] from Europe or developed here by Europeans:

(1) authoritarian-despotic political systems with highly organized bureaucracies and police or other control mechanisms.

(2) authoritarian-conformist religious cults with active programs for suppressing, forcible converting, or killing non-conformists and non-followers.

(3) colonial-imperialistic systems designed to conquer, control, and exploit other peoples.

(4) notions of the basic depravity and sinfulness of human beings ("original sin" etc.)

(5) a notion that trees, plants, animals, and all non-human forms of life are not possessed of any rights, do not possess "souls," and can be killed, exploited, experimented with, disposed of, etc., at will.

(6) a notion that human beings belonging to a different nationality can be conquered, enslaved, forcibly converted to a new religion, exploited, punished for their beliefs, etc., without incurring any spiritual or secular penalties, unless their culture and/or religion makes them very similiar to one's own nationality (and even then only slight deviations can lead to "justified" killings, conquest, etc.)

(7) a notion that the earth, trees, animals, minerals, and even persons can be "owned" by another creature (usually at first the king or the State which in turn grants ownership rights to privileged "subjects").

(8) a notion that laws or rules can be adopted which artificially make it possible for one group or class to enhance its wealth or power at the expense of others (e.g., laws of contract, land grants, slavery codes, laws prohibiting the testimony by blacks or natives against whites, laws granting corporation-owners immunity from legal actions, etc.)

(9) the entire pimp-prostitution industry.

(10) notions of the inferiority of women.

(11) crime, including large-scale "organized" rackets, criminal alliance systems, bribery, corruption, etc.

(12) distilled alcoholic beverages with high alcohol content.

(13) the use of drugs (opiates, cocaine, etc.,) in the modern drug traffic, that is, as non-religious escapist devices.

(14) the notions of the sinfulness of sexual activities and of the evil of the naked or partially-naked human body, and concurrently, sex crimes, pornography, sexual sadism, perversion, etc.

(15) the tradition that local government is to be dominated by the wealthiest persons in the area and is to be used to maintain a system of inequality or even to enhance that system.

(16) the notion that the ethical/behavorial teachings of a religious cult can be ignored provided that formalistic rituals are observed (such as confession, attending church, outward conformity, pious sloganry a la Billy Graham, etc.).

(17) ranking people's worth on the basis of material possessions, and ranking a culture's worth on its conspicuous use of material goods (that is, the bigger the buildings, the better the culture.)

(18) glorification of empire-building and of such "heroes" as Alexander "the Great", Henry VIII, DeSoto, Coronado, Cortez, Lasalle, etc.

(19) the approval of the use of Machiavellian techniques (lying, deceit, strategam, duplicity, etc.) in dealing with other ethnic groups, or in the accumulation of wealth.

(20) the glorification of those who exploited other people or who lived off of the labor of other people, such as slave-owners like Washington, Jefferson, etc., or stealers of land and cheats such as John Smith, the Pilgrim "fathers," Dutch leaders in New York, etc.

(21) the development of the most intensive and brutalizing system of human slavery ever implemented prior to Nazi Germany.

(22) the development of organized campaigns of physical genocide directed against whole peoples (as in California against native Americans, leading to an 84% decline in the American population in twenty to thirty years.)

(23) the introduction of cruel sports involving animals, such as cock fights, bull and bear fights, dog fights, greyhound racing, fox hunting, bull fighting, etc., along with commercialized gambling.

(24) the development of medical and other experimentation on living creatures involving the inflicting of pain and even terrible deaths without any moral remorse, and even the experimentation with human beings (ranging from socio-psychological manipulation and invasions of privacy to actual surgical or medical experimentation).

(25) the development of entire industries devoted to the finding of ways to kill or maim the greatest possible number of human beings (or other creatures including trees and plants) with the least possible ethical or moral involvement of any individual killer, and the actual killing of millions of persons by such "remote control" means, as well as the death of untold millions of trees, plants, and other animals.

(26) the development of entire industries devoted to the perfection of mechanical devices suitable for spying on and controlling the behavior of human beings, as well as actual spying and surveillance.

(27) the development of psychological and even psycho-surgical ways for controlling and regulating human behavior, ranging from mass propaganda to behavorial-change educational programs for "non-conforming" children to the use of tranquilizing drugs to actual brain surgery.

(28) the development of massive welfare programs for the rich (subsidies, tax exemptions, "depreciation", government contracts, etc.) and demeaning programs for the poor.

One could, of course, go on and on. Virtually every major problem faced in North America today, virtually every kind of unethical behavior, and virtually every threat to individual dignity, freedom, and self-development has a European or Overseas European origin.

Is this a mere matter of chance? Is it just fortuitous, or is it the result of certain basic characteristics of European culture?

First, though, before answering these questions, it is necessary to make several general comments.

Native American societies were not always perfect, and did not live up to their ideals in every case. Likewise, there were certain native societies where distinctions based upon parentage made a difference, where leaders appear to have possessed considerable arbitrary authority, etc. But in these cases, we are dealing with exceptions to the general rule. (In this connection, it is worth pointing out that European scholars ordinarily seem to rank highest those American societies with the greatest tendencies towards authoritarian politics and towards social stratification.)

It should be noted that there were certain sectors of Europe (Switzerland, northern Scotland, northern Scandinavia, and in many peasant communities) where resistance against authoritarian-machiavellian tendencies was apparent during various time periods. These traditions, which we might term tribal-egalitarian-communalistic, have been important locally in European history, but they have often proven to be of less significance among Overseas Europeans. The latter, in their role as "colonists", frequently have become oppressors of native populations, and have been corrupted by authoritarian-machiavellian tendencies in spite of being of peasant or oppressed origin themselves.

European "civilization" has produced many fruits in the last 500 years, including the death of perhaps 30 million native Americans (or more), the enslavement and death of tens of millions of Black Africans, the death of millions of Europeans, Asians, Africans, and Americans in imperialistic wars, the forced impoverishment and proletarianization of millions of ex-peasants, the rise of such beastly systems as that of Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy, etc., the development of numerous messianic "know-it-all" cults such as many Christian denominations, communist parties, fascist parties, etc., the planned genocide directed against 30 million Jews, Poles, Gypsies, and so on, the perfection of totalitarian societies, the development of mass-murder forms of warfare, etc.

Of course, it might be argued that German Nazism, Russian Stalinism, Spanish-Italian-Hungarian-Rumanian-Croatian-Bulgarian fascism, Greek dictatorship, and so on, can be counterbalanced by British-Scandinavian-French-Dutch tendencies of a somewhat different nature. But the record of the British in India, the French in Syria, Indo-china, and Algeria; the Dutch in Indonesia, and the Scandinavians in their own Baltic struggles (and in the suppression of Lapp and Inuit cultures) is not all that enviable.

In any event, the European legacy of the past 500 years is, at best, a rather tarnished one (unless one does indeed believe in fascism, imperialism, social stratification, and exploitation, as many people clearly do.)

The bad record of Europeans (and of others who adopt machiavellian-exploitative ethics) is not simply a matter of chance. Focusing on Overseas Europeans in America (Anglo-Canadians, whites in the U.S., ruling European elites in "Latin" America, etc.) we discuss certain basic cultural tendencies which are inevitably disastrous (in terms of traditional Native American values, at least.)

From the jungle of the Amazon to the Arctic, the earth and its forests are being ripped apart to provide

coal, oil, timber, iron, copper, etc., to maintain "a high standard of living" and military power for Overseas Europeans. Some people have argued, from within the European tradition, that "we don't have to worry" because it will soon become "practical" (that is, of dollar value) to save the land, the oceans, and the air [or to escape to other planets via space travel]. Unfortunately, such a pragmatic approach to ecology will never work (or at least, not in time, because other equally "pragmatic" arguments will always be available to support continued exploitation.

For example, the "energy crisis" is already undoing much of the "ecology" work of the 1960s. New areas in Arizona, Wyoming, Montana, Alaska, Brazil, Colombia, Venezuela, and so on, are being destroyed already in order to provide coal, gas, etc., to over-developed white cities. The "energy crisis" will be effectively used not only to endanger the environment further, but to rob native tribes of their remaining lands and lives.

The basic reason why Overseas Europeans will continue to destroy America is because their ethical-value religious system is of such a nature that it encourages, approves of, and justifies such exploitation. For instance, animals and trees have no rights (unless they are "pets" and then very few). Therefore, the fact that an area is a home for deer, wolves, seals, birds, or certain plants is of no significance as a barrier to invasion. Deer have no "right" to a home. They will have a home only if it is convenient or provides "recreation" for White deer hunters.

Secondly, non-whites and poor people have no inherent rights. "Indians" will not be "allowed to sit on" mineral deposits. The Canadian, U.S., and other governments will use bribery, intimidation, or even mass-murder (as in Brazil) to remove Americans who choose to try to preserve land in its "natural" state. Even rural whites who are poor (as in Appalachia) cannot resist the "legal" power of the big coal operators. Therefore, the fact that a given area is "home" to a group of humans will prove to be no barrier, unless they belong to the wealthy powerful sector of the population (in which case, though, they will put in the oil wells and move somewhere else to live.)

By and large, the Overseas European cannot help being what he is. He is "culture-bound." His culture tells him in the main that it is all right to defraud the weak, it is all right to kill animals or trees without remorse, and that it is a postive good to acquire wealth and to "get ahead" by any means "legitimized" by a legal system developed by wealth acquirers.

Now some readers may disagree. For them, I would suggest a little reading in books such as Harmon's *U.S. Indian Policy to 1850*; Gibson's *The Kickapoos*, Debo's *And the Waters Still Run*, Cahn's *Our Brothers' Keepers*, and current issues of periodicals such as *Akwesasne Notes* and *Wassaja*. In these well-documented sources, one can read of an unbending and overwhelming rule: Native Americans cannot exist in even relative peace unless they live on absolutely worthless land (remote from any highway route, railroad route, damsite, potential "national monument" or tourist attraction.) If they have anything of value, (agricultural land, grazing land, water, minerals, or even products desired by tourists) they will be descended upon by lesser or greater flood of European exploiters, lawyers, fast-buck artists, government agents, and assorted other crooks who will bribe, intimidate, bully, high-pressure, steal, and even kill in order to drain every last drop of wealth away.

The only people of American descent who can retain any wealth or who can "win" are those whom the European missionaries and government schools have succeeded in Europeanizing sufficiently so that they are also crooked, deceitful, avaricious, tricky, suspicious, and/or selfish.

So the "Indians" who end up with "wealth" in Oklahoma and elsewhere are, in fact, just like whites. For practical purposes, since they are so Europeanized, we can regard them as being part of the Overseas European population, even though they may have some American ancestry. (This also applies to many Blacks and Chicanos who are Europeanized enough to exploit their own people, crave after wealth, etc.)

The get-rich, fast-buck thinking of the Watergaters is not atypical. On the contrary, a little research will show that it is the dominant theme in U.S. and Canadian policy towards Americans. It has also been a dominant theme in the exploitation of Afro-Americans, Asian "coolies," Filipinos, Polynesians, Puerto Ricans and other non-European peoples. Even Europeans lacking in wealth and power, such as rural poor whites or newly-arrived immigrants have been frequent victims of the same cultural tendencies, until they themselves become corrupt enough to learn how to "survive" in the Overseas European world. Thus some Sicilians join the Mafia, some Irish become crooked cops and politicians, some Chinese and Jews learn to operate sweat-shops, and so on, as the different immigrant groups learn to survive in Europeanized North America.

In order to have a non-exploitative society, and in order to save this land from destruction, the worst tendencies of European overseas culture must be abandoned. These characteristics include:

(1) the messianic mania — the desire to force or high-pressure other people into conforming to the views of some "religious" or political-secular cult.

(2) the extreme arrogance and chauvinism of Overseas Europeans, closely related to the above, and possessed by almost all sectors of the European population, including especially college professors, scientists, technicians, bureaucrats, functionaries, school-teachers, business executives, etc.

(3) the idea that human beings and other living things, including the earth, can be used as means without regard to the rights and dignity of individual humans, animals, plants, etc.

(4) the idea that any human has the right to live off of the labor of another human, or off of the lives of non-humans.

(5) the idea that any human can "own" another living creature, or can "own" the earth, the sky, the waters, or any natural thing.

(6) the idea that slogans of religious or ethical piety can actually replace day-to-day ethical living.

(7) the idea that those who control wealth should be able to determine what is printed, what is seen, and what is heard.

(8) the idea that the state has a right to know and control what its citizens are thinking, saying, and doing in their private lives.

(9) the notion that material wealth and a "high standard of living" is the most important goal of human activity.

There may be other characteristics which need to be abandoned, but the above list should be enough to illustrate the depths of change required.

It should be pointed out that Europeanist reform and revolutionary movements *have always failed* precisely because they were Europeanist in culture. For example, communists are no better than Capitalists, Liberals are no better than Conservatives, and so on. All such movements have either failed to alter the basic problems of European societies or *have actually made them worse.*

All one has to do to realize the all-pervading corruption of the European heritage is to read the holier-than-thou gobbledegook of Stalinist, Maoist, and Trotyskyite communist propaganda in the United States. It is really frightening, because one senses clearly that these people are just like their capitalistic counterparts — just as self-centered, just as intolerant, just as messianic, just as authoritarian, just as lacking in spiritual and humanistic values, and just as materialistic.

Fortunately, the European heritage is not totally evil, and not all persons of European heritage are equally immersed in the dominant characteristics of the tradition. Two main streams of influence have helped to keep alive and nurture a "minority" tendency in Europeanism. First there is the old tribal/peasant heritage of Europe (still not absolutely corrupted even today.) Second, since 1492, European thinking has been influenced by the knowledge of alternative social-religious systems found in America, in Africa, in Asia, and the Pacific. With the writings of Rousseau, Voltaire, and many other later writers, we might suggest that the traditional folk democracy of parts of Europe became viable again when merged with the actual knowledge that there were functioning democratic/communalistic societies in the world, and also religious systems which tolerated or even encouraged individual freedom.

European "Liberalism" and modern democratic ideals, we might suggest, were born in a native American wigwam because *it was only in America* (so far as most Europeans of the 1500s to 1700s knew) that any truly free human societies actually existed. (But of course, the intellectual-behavioral influence of "Indians" upon Europeans is almost always denied as a cardinal act of faith in European superiority. [See article following on this topic.]

But it really doesn't matter to whom we give the credit. The fact remains that many Europeans reject all or part of the dominant European heritage and have embraced democratic-folkish-communalistic-humanistic-conservationistic tendencies.

Some persons of European descent have become Americanized and are, therefore, European-Americans or even (Americans) rather than Overseas Europeans. Overseas Europeans are persons who have refused to become Americanized, who refuse to become "nativized." Their ideological, spiritual, historical and genealogical home remains Europe. Their complete loyalties remain with their Overseas European nationality, and with its colonialist culture. They are colonists still, in every sense of the word. As long as they remain colonists, they will continue to write and use the kind of history textbooks which are now in vogue, textbooks where everything begins in Europe and where the history of Overseas Europeans is the central or only theme.

In any case, the presence of "non-conformist" Europeans makes it possible to hope that Americanism can become a viable force in American life.

What is Americanism? It can be nothing other than the ideals and basic characteristics of those societies which have been evolving in America for at least 40,000 years. We can perhaps speak of "European-American", "Afro-American" and "Asian-American" cultures, but when we use the term American without any hyphen or qualifiers, it must, in all logic, apply to the native people of this land. Clearly, the white people of the United States have no right to use the term to refer to themselves, both because they are latecomers, and also because the peoples of the rest of the continent are at least equally "American."

It would be absurd to suggest that the Irish became "non-Irish" because English-speaking invaders occupied or dominated a good part of the island of Ireland (Eire). The Irish remain Irish, and the latecomers are properly either Anglo-Irish, Scotch-Irish, English, or British. Certainly, the core of "Irishism" consists in the Native Irish heritage (even though aliens have been in Ireland extensively since the 1200s. Similarly, the core of Americanism must relate to the people who have lived on this land for so many untold thousands of years.

In any event, like it or not, Americanism to me means 40,000 years of Americanism, that is, *the native way of this land.* This does not mean that African, Asian, Polynesian, and European influences cannot become a part of the American Way, but it does mean that they must be harmonious with, or complementary to, the basic values of Americanism.

It must also be stressed that when I speak of Americanism, I am not necessarily referring to kinds of dwellings, modes of transportation, styles of clothing, or forms of cookingware. These things are superficial, material characteristics which seldom, if ever, have to do with the basic elan or spirit of a cultural tradition.

At its heart, Americanism is a way of thinking about the Universe, and a resultant way of living. The essence of the native viewpoint can be summed up in the words of White Buffalo Woman, when she mysteriously appeared to the Sioux people:

"All of this [creation] is sacred, and so do not forget. Every dawn as it comes is a holy event and every day is holy event, and every day is holy, for the light comes from your Father

(continued on next page)

(continued from previous page)

Wakan-Tanka; and also you must always remember that the two-leggeds and all the other peoples who stand upon this earth are sacred and should be treated as such."

– Black Elk in The Sacred Pipe by J.E. Brown

The same thoughts are carried forward by Black Elk in his autobiography:

"It is the story of all life that is holy and is good to tell, and of us two-leggeds sharing in it with the four-leggeds and the wings of the air and all green things; for these are children of one mother and their father is one Spirit . . . Is not the sky a father and the earth a mother, and are not all living things with feet or wings or roots their children?

– Black Elk in Black Elk Speaks by John Neihardt

In a prayer, Black Elk says:

Grandfather, Great Spirit, you have been always, and before you no one has been. There is no other one to pray to but you. You yourself, everything that you see, everything has been made by you. The star nations all over the universe you have finished. Grandfather, Great Spirit, lean close to the earth that you may hear the voice I send. You towards where the sun goes down, behold me; Thunder Beings, behold me! You where the White Giant lives in power, behold me! You where the sun shines continually, whence come the day-break star and the day, behold me! You where the summer lives, behold me! You in the depths of the heavens, an eagle of power, behold! And you Mother Earth, the only Mother, you who have shown mercy to your children!

Hear me, four quarters of the world – a relative I am! Give me the strength to walk the soft earth, a relative to all that is! Give me the eyes to see and the strength to understand, that I may be like you. With your power only can I face the winds.

Great Spirit, Great Spirit, my Grandfather, all over the earth the faces of living things are alike. With tenderness have these come out of the ground. Look upon these faces of children without number and with children in their arms, that they may face the winds and walk the good road to the day of quiet.

This is my prayer; hear me! The voice I have sent is weak, yet with earnestness I have sent it. Hear me!

It is finished. Hetchetu aloh!"

Another Sioux holyman, Lame Deer, has also expressed much the same thoughts, making them directly relevant for our times:

For us Indians, there is just the sacred pipe, the earth we sit on, and the open sky. The Spirit is everywhere. Sometimes it shows itself through an animal, a bird, or some trees and hills. Sometimes it speaks from the Badlands, a stone, or even from the water . . .

If this earth should ever be destroyed, it will be by desire, by the lust of pleasure and self-gratification, by greed for the green frog skin [money] by people who are mindful only of their own self, forgetting about the wants of others . . .

We Indians hold the pipe of peace, but the white man's religious book speaks of war, and we have stood by while the white man supposedly improved the world. Now we Indians must show how to live with our brothers, not use them, kill them or maim them. With this pipe, which is a living part of us, we shall be praying for peace, peace in Vietnam and in our own country. We Indians say "our country" because it is still ours, even if all other races are now in physical possession of it, for land does not belong to any single man, but to all people and to the future generations.

We must try to use this pipe for mankind, which is on the road to self-destruction. We must try to get back on the red road of the pipe, the road of life. We must try to save the white man from himself. This can be done only if all of us, Indians and non-Indians alike, can again see ourselves as part of this earth, not as an enemy from the outside who tries to impose his will on it. Because we, who know the meaning of the pipe, also know that, being a living part of the earth, we cannot harm any part of her without hurting ourselves . . . Through this pipe, maybe, we can make peace with our greatest enemy who dwells deep within ourselves.

– Lame Deer, in Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions

These ideas, and others like them, constitute the core of Americanism. They may seem simple, but their implications are profound. For example, how must we try to live if it is true that all living creatures are relatives, are brothers and sisters and children of the same parents?

To understand fully the above, we should keep in mind that Europeanism teaches us that living creatures are at war with each other, are competitors and enemies. Even humans are rivals of each other, and all humans are supposed to struggle "against" nature. Non-humans are mere "servants" of man, not brothers and sisters. Upon these viewpoints are based not only actual Europeanist behavior, but also many teachings in biology and psychology etc.

[Around each Overseas European community, note the resultant atrocities: orchards uprooted by bulldozers, because they are not "profitable" to their "owners"; cattle penned for fattening "efficiency" without regard to the rights of all living things; make your own list.

Juan, the Yaqui teacher says:

"But we must be on good terms with all the living things of the world. This is the reason why we must talk to plants we are about to kill and apologize for hurting them; the same thing must be done with the animals we are going to hunt."

– Carlos Castaneda, in A Separate Reality

Of course, Europeans can readily comply with Juan's teachings. They can simply set up a tape-recording which can be played over and over again to each group of animals as they are slaughtered: "We are sorry; we are sorry; we are sorry . . ." (Here, of course, I am making reference to modern European culture's ability to corrupt and distort almost any beautiful idea so that it comes to reflect almost its exact opposite.)

The truth is that European culture takes for granted the murder and exploitation of living creatures in degrading and "dehumanizing" (deanimalizing) ways. Native American farmers treat plants in an individual caring way. Many European peasants used to do this also. But now machines plant and "harvest" crops. Actually, they don't "harvest them" at all, as machines wastefully murder whole fields of perfectly good tomato plants to cheaply acquire "hard-skinned" tomatoes for market. Innumerable ripe, overripe, and underripe tomatoes and the plants themselves are simply left to rot and be ploughed into the ground.

Is all of this necessary? No. But if we altered our methods of dealing with plants and animals, we would inevitably cause a severe crisis in white society. White society cannot exist as it does without the impersonal, unethical exploitation of their living forms.

Most significantly of all, the treatment of plants and animals in modern Overseas European and European cultures is closely related to the treatment of humans. Which came first: the mistreatment of humans or of non-humans? Perhaps it doesn't matter, but they do seem to run hand in hand.

Of course, I can just see the reaction of the Ehrlichmans of this world! How stupid! Anyone who worries about plants and animals is a "kook". Anyone who worries about humans is a "commie." Anyone who worries about honesty and ethics is a "fool." Allegedly, Sargent Shriver used to have a sign in his Washington, D.C., office which read, "Nice Guys Finish Last."

And this is a real clue to the core of Europeanism. "Nice Guys Finish Last" in what race? Who are you getting "ahead" of if you "get ahead"? There are no brothers and sisters in the world of the Ehrlichmans, and Shrivers, only a desperate competitive race to acquire transient wealth and power, a race in which all other creatures are either allies (on your side), fodder (to be used and discarded), or enemies (to be beaten.)

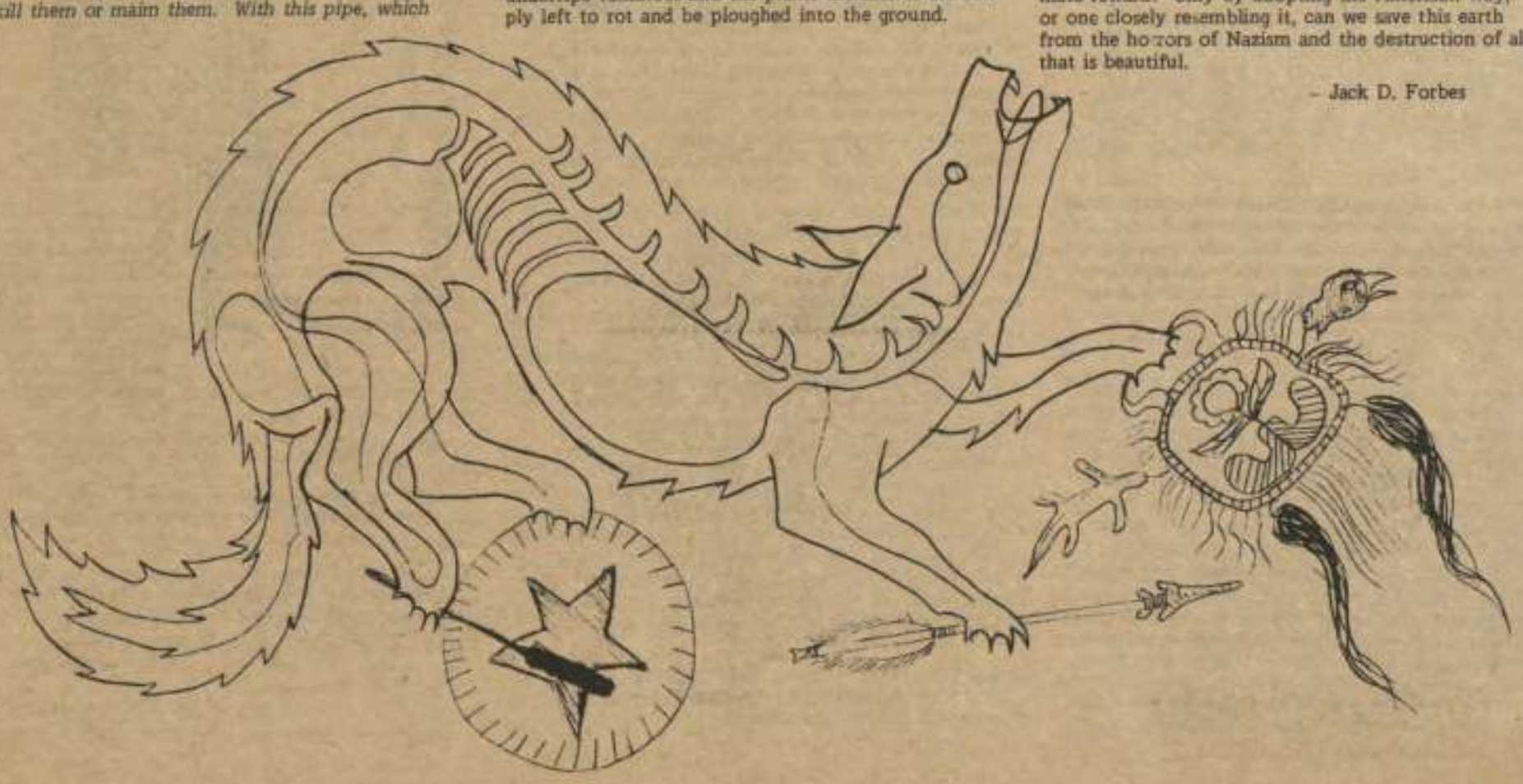
In Americanism, there is no competition and no exploitation, since we must respect the dignity and individuality of all other creatures. If one is able to run fifty miles and another is able to run thirty miles, that does not mean that the fifty-miler has "beaten" the thirty miler, or competed against him. Both are simply seeking to give expression to the power of their lungs, legs, chests, and whole bodies. Since all men are built differently, each has a different potential for foot-running. No one can run farther than he can run. It is no disgrace to run only as far as you can run. It is no victory to run as far as you can run.

Respecting the dignity of other living creatures means also that we must respect children. Native children are free people, with a right to seek their own destiny. European children are empty receptacles to be filled with their parents' notions, or made to be molded by coercive schools. There is no better way to understand the differences existing between Americanism and Europeanism than to contrast attitudes toward child-development. (The white says, "I'm going to 'raise-up' or 'bring up' a child." The native view is more like, "I'm going to live with a child.")

The Catholic, the Lutheran, the Seventh-Day Adventist and the Mormon all seek to pour into the child's mind so much indoctrination that the child will always be a Catholic, a Lutheran, an Adventist, or a Mormon. Real "freedom of choice" is never to be his. Americanism, on the other hand, never pressures a child. He is free to participate or not to participate, to join or not to join; to learn or not to learn, as he sees fit. Over and over again one reads of natives who were willing to have their children go to white missionary or other schools (if they were willing) in order to learn enough to be able to decide which way they wanted to live. How many whites does one read of who ever gave their children such an opportunity?

Americanism is not an easy way. It demands the ultimate courage, the courage to turn one's back upon the false idols of materialism, greed, arrogance, and bigotry. It demands the courage to get to know the Creator, our mother, the Earth, and our brothers and sisters. It demands that we face ourselves, our own weaknesses, and our imminent death as living creatures. It demands a great deal – but it also offers the ultimate reward: only by adopting the American Way, or one closely resembling it, can we save this earth from the horrors of Nazism and the destruction of all that is beautiful.

– Jack D. Forbes



The American Indian & The Revolution of European • Culture

(The previous article by Jack Forbes discusses some of the inadequacies of European culture in being able to maintain life for future generations. This article shows that some of the features of European life which are most desirable came from North American influence. It is well known that the Iroquois form of government had a profound influence on the "Founding Fathers" of the United States of America. It is perhaps less known, but easily documented, that knowledge of Iroquois society had a deep effect upon Frederick Engels, whose writings on the subject strongly influenced Karl Marx, whose theories are utilized by Russia and China and many other nations. Gertrude Hafner, a German professor and friend of native causes, has written this historical analysis of the effect of American thinking in the origin of Modern Socialism. Hopefully, knowing that Indian life and philosophy has so affected many peoples of the world, native peoples of today will perhaps consider letting it affect the direction of their own lives.)

Gilbert Chinard wrote in 1911:

"Thanks to Columbus' discoveries, one had recognized that nations even without the knowledge of civilization were living in happiness . . . that the 'Golden Age' had not vanished entirely from the face of the earth, that there were nations . . . without king, religion, or laws, . . . which seemingly were living in happiness. For a long time, one hesitated to admit facts which shake all political and social concepts in Europe, yet one can recognize clearly and more clearly that special destructive idea: one can follow its noiseless underground course up to the day when by Rousseau and the French Revolution it became the co-founder of modern anarchy."

There are a number of treatises in French and English languages which prove that already the earliest reports about the American Aborigines started to shake the Western social order as soon as they reached Europe.

The judgments which conquerors, explorers, and missionaries pronounced about the American nations were different indeed, but fundamentally, they had a singular effect on amazed and curious Europeans. Columbus might declare the 'Indios' of the West 'Indies' the best and most amiable people in the world; Gomara on the contrary might assure that God had hit the nations of the Americas with the plague of Spanish conquest as punishment for their sins. But both statements ultimately touched the same facts — here were people living without judges, without kings, without property. While one reporter considered it as a virtue which could be elevated as a model for use, the other expressed a condemnation judgment.

However, the poets and writers in whose hands was the popularizing of the news from the New World were preparing the Europeans of the Renaissance for a reversal of all moral and social concepts.

The French poet, Pierre de Ronsard (1525-1585), for instance, asserted that he himself would life like 'these happy people', boldly and in complete freedom, if only he could. And Michel de Montaigne (1533-1599) in an essay stated that the Indian social structures were superior to the social-philosophical sketches of the classical antiquity.

de Montaigne suggested that a native Brazilian, visiting Charles IX, might note that in France 'half the people enjoy all comforts, while the other half is begging in front of their doors. He could not understand why this disadvantaged half would not kill the other half and burn their houses.'

The Empire of the Incas attained a high degree of attention of the social critics. This socialistic monarchy became known through its historian, Garcia Laso de la Vega, his main work (1609 and 1616) being translated into all European languages. The Incan empire as a model state and its downfall as a historic drama, furnished substance for many theatrical plays and the much-read novel by J.F. Marmontel, *Les Incas* (1777). Marmontel used his novel to revive the state of the Inca in its most appealing form, and as a treatise against the intolerance in matters of faith. He could not find a more dreadful example than the Inquisition in Spain and the simultaneous appearance of the Christian Spaniards in Peru, who extended the Inquisition to the 'New World'.

The effect of North American life upon the thinking of Europe increased when France began to establish herself in North America. While the seaman Cartier still pitied the Indians of the St. Lawrence River and stated that they are helplessly delivered up to hunger and the rigors of the hard winters, not a hundred years later the widely traveled advocate Lescarbot admired their stoic resoluteness to bear such hardships with dignity. In his *History of New France* (1609 and 1617) he drew systematic comparisons between the Nations of Canada and the Nations of classical antiquity, including Greece and Rome.

The Jesuit padre Lafitau topped this comparison with *Moeurs des Sauvages americains comparees aux moeurs des premieres temps* (1724). Lafitau advocated the opinion that a kind of original religion had spread over the whole earth in the oldest times, but had degenerated over the years. The American Natives, he said, are the last keepers of this natural religion, which, older than Moses and even the Flood, had been given to the People directly by God.

Another Jesuit, Pere Buffier, who was not a missionary himself, took up the missionary reports and processed them into a treatise (1723). He drew up a moral code similar to the one done by Rousseau in *Le contract social* in a later year. Buffier too held the opinion that every human being had the right to demand that maximum of happiness which he was entitled to in a just society. Obviously, the American nations of native peoples lived after this natural human demand by free agreement. To have morality, he said, one does not necessarily have to have a divine manifestation, but only the reason of the natural religion.

Buffier might also have read the memoirs of Lahontan who already three decades before in *Nouveaux Voyages de M. le baron Lahontan dans l'Amerique septentrionale* (1703) granted much coverage to the praise of reason in the genius "savages". (Savages literally means the people of the forests.) Lahontan praised the high power of judgment of the native peoples, who told him that man should never do without reason, because reason is his most noble gift.

He developed this thought in the second part of his travel-memoirs in the literary fashion of the day by writing a dialogue of a European of the time of Ludwig XIV with a "sauvage de bon sens qui a voyage" (a common-sensed person far-traveled in the wilderness.) The most decisive statement of this dialogue furnished Chief Adario with an opportunity to make the sharpest social criticism which one could imagine at that time.

It consisted of three parts, criticising religon, the law, and the idea of property. The author defends these establishments, while Adario attacks them. He makes a devastating criticism, shaking the basic strongholds of the social order then existing in France.

At the end, Adario gives a picture of a perfect social order as it existed among the Hurons, because 'those are the people where the natural right in its entire perfection is to be found . . .' The illustration on the front page of the document shows a Huron, treading the royal scepter and statute books under his feet, with the words, "*et leges et sceptra terit*".

L'Arlequin Sauvage, the rebellious theatre-play by Dreyetiere Delisle, which was performed in 1721 for the first time and thereafter frequently, was seen on French and English stages, has as its hero a Huron, who was displaced to France – it owed its origin obviously to Lahontan and Adario. Also, Rousseau had seen the play in his youth.

Rousseau's ideas and his influence on the outbreak of the French Revolution are well-known. The French Revolution, of course, was a prelude to all other social upheavals down to our own time. Rousseau distinguished between the hypothetical man of nature we all do descend from, and the progressed condition of the native people of his time, which to him was the most happy and durable epoch of mankind – the best kind of humanity.

In England, there were also informants about the people of the 'New World'. Walter Raleigh (1596), J. Oldmixon (1708), J. Lawson (1714), Cadwalader Colden (1747) on the Iroquois, J. Carver (1778), etc. By them, the English-speaking world learned about the Indian character, religion, upbringing, and social order from their own people. As the colonization of the English pushed forward to contend with France for North America, and as the English gained more and more insight into the organization of the Iroquois League, the words 'Nature', 'Readon' and 'Liberty' became the more frequent in the reports.

Colden wrote that the Five Nations of the Iroquois had such an absolute conception of liberty that they did not tolerate any kind of supremacy.

Burke too wrote in 1758: "Liberty in the fullest extent is the darling possession of the Americans [meaning the native peoples]. To Liberty, they would sacrifice everything . . . They would raise their children in the sense of liberty too."

Adair (1775) found social equality the most important motive for their love for their own people and nations. Governed by the direct and honest laws of nature, their establishments breathed nothing but liberty, he said.

It is, however, remarkable that in the empire of the British Crown, the Liberation of the Individual from the chain of civilization became more important than the liberation of the society.

The English romantic period flourished between 1730 and 1790. Writers began to see other peoples through the Indian image. Wordsworth (1770-1850) spoke of the lumbermen sleeping on the floor "like an Indian." He wrote of his own youth as that of an Indian boy:

> *As if I had been born*
> *on Indian plains, and from my mother's hut*
> *had run abroad in wantonness, to sport*
> *a naked savage in the thunder shower.*

With the French revolution, writers no longer had to look to the 'New World' for their example of the freedom loving/living person – they could now look to liberated Europe. But still, the favored hero of the novels was a young social rebel who questioned all handed-down values, and was somehow connected with the Indians. Maybe he identified himself with them, as in Holcroft's *Anne St. Ives* (London 1792) or because he grew up with the Sioux, as in Bage's *Hermsprong* ("Man as he is not"; London 1796).

And so, what we have is the situation of acculturation, where European peoples have taken ideas from the natural way of life they saw among the native peoples and adapted it to their own culture. But the process is still far from complete.

Guillaume Raynal in his *Philosophical History . . .* (Geneva 1780) said it was important that coming generations should not lose sight of the vision of the natural life – the vision which the Europeans had met in North America. Thanks to this knowledge, he thought, Europeans had gained their philosophical and moral progress.

The discovery of those ideas has spread a bright light, and yet it is not more than the dawn of a beautiful day, which maybe coming generations will enjoy more completely.

In the meantime, it will be like a weather-vane for social movements for a long time to come.

(Thanks to Waltraud Wagner and Margit Joest for their translation into English this short extract from the German version by Dr. Hafner.)

BOOK REVIEWS

One Hundred Million Acres *by Kirke Kickingbird and Karen Ducheneaux. MacMillan, 240 pages, $6.95.*

Sometimes the most intricate and baffling problems are solved by methods so simple and logical that one wonders why so much time passes before the solutions are applied. Perhaps this may be the case with the ideas presented here by Kirke Kickingbird and Karen Ducheneaux, who recently left the Bureau of Indian Affairs to establish the Institute for the Development of Indian Law.

Their title, *One Hundred Million Acres,* refers to the size of the land base which the authors recommend restoring to Indian control as the first step in solving "the problem of American Indians created by the accidents and incidents of American history." One hundred million acres is less than 5% of the total occupied by native people when the Europeans came to America and began seizing the land by right of "discovery."

The Kickingbird-Ducheneaux solution threatens no privately owned land, but it may disturb certain non-Indians who are now profiting from the exploitation of Indian land.

In a series of breezily-titled chapters, the authors with precision and great economy of words trace the historical and sociological backgrounds of the present-day dilemma of American Indians. To their credit, they have for the most part avoided "legalese" in explaining complex situations. In fact, they relieve the seriousness of their subject matter with occasional flashes of native ironic humor.

Land, they rightly point out, was the major source of all Indian-white conflicts, and continues to be so to this day. The European intruders justified their conquest of the New World by the religious and ethical standards of their culture. When the Indians struggled to hold their land, their actions were called "uprisings" and their victories were recorded as "massacres." After the formation of the United States, the Federal Government through the elected Congress claimed the right to extinguish Indian land titles as it saw fit, and thru the years, Congress' role was expanded until Indians and Indian lands virtually became the "property" of Congress.

They still are. And as long as Congress is dominated by interests seeking to exploit Indian lands, the miseries of reservation Indians will continue. The authors avoid this point, yet it has to be faced as the most disheartening aspect of a brilliant and optimistic book.

After reviewing the various methods used by Congress to extinguish Indian rights to land – from sharp treaty bargaining to treaty violations, from the General Allotment Act of 1887 to the forcing of allotments in Oklahoma – the authors begin ticking off chapter by chapter the acreage that still remains Indian land and that they believe should be restored to Indian control.

Today, there are 39,663,000 acres of tribal lands, with 10,697,000 acres of individually owned land acquired under the allotment system. Under the complicated heirship provisions, much of this allotment land cannot be used today because ownership is divided among dozens of heirs, perhaps more heirs than acres. To this base of 50 million acres they add the 40 million acres of Native Alaskan lands.

"In terms of the potential wealth of Alaska," the authors say, "it may prove to be very little, but when compared with the treatment received by the tribes of the lower 48, it is the most generous gesture in history by the United States Government." Before giving out too many credits, they should remember that in the last century, Congress gave the Sioux 140 million acres, only to reduce them to 50 million a few years later. If history is any guide, greedy eyes are already fixed upon those 40-million Alaskan acres.

Adding the 40-million acres of Alaskan land brings the total to 89 million acres. An additional 4,700,000 acres are in a category described as "occupied Indian lands". At times in the past various government bureaus have taken over reservation land and set it aside for wild game reserves, for field research, military use, and schools. The authors recommend transfer of these lands back to the tribes from which they were taken.

Restoration of acreage to tribes such as the Menominees who lost their land bases during the disastrous termination period of the 1950s, return of submarginal lands, and a few smaller units now in controversy, would bring the total to about 100-million acres. The authors recommend that all this land be placed in a new legal category to be called "Indian lands" with tribal governments controlling use, and with protective restrictions on leases and sales. The cost of this change, they say, would be less than that now spent to pay bureaucrats to keep records and travel "hither and yon to visit Indian tribes to prevent them from using their lands."

One of the most frequently heard questions from the 125 million Americans, who (according to a recent Harris poll) believe the government has mistreated the Indians is: what can we do to redress the wrongs of the past? Perhaps no better answer could be given than to follow the recommendations of the authors of this book. Congress, however, must take action, and only strong pressure upon Congress from 200 million Americans will ever bring action.

– Dee Brown

[Editor's note: Certainly return of land is an issue, and it is one of the points in the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties. However, it must be regarded as only a "first step," as Dee Brown suggests – certainly life for the people of the Pine Ridge Reservation, as evidenced by the occupation of Wounded Knee, is not enhanced generally because the tribal council has large acreages of land under its control. The real issue has to do with the freedom which native peoples will have to determine their own destinies on any land base, no matter how large or how small. And until tribal governments are responsive to their people, return of land to tribal government control will only increase the power of those governments to oppress their own people.

(Thanks to Dee Brown for his review which appeared in the Washington Post. One Hundred Million Acres is available from AKWESASNE NOTES for $6.95, postpaid.)

The Secret of No Face, an Ireokwa Epic *by Chief Everett Parker and Oledoska. Native American Publishers, $3.95 paperbound.*

This is the tale of a little Cornhusk Doll who has neither face nor name due to some bad karma on the part of her ancestors. In order to gain a face, if not for herself, then at least for the future generations of Cornhusk Dolls, she sets out on a long and often treacherous odyssey. She encounters all sorts of amazing spirits and creatures, but overcomes evil with the purity of her intentions.

This book is such a joy to read – all of nature is endowed with a sense of magic, a reflection of the Indian Way. Illustrated with sketches and several color paintings.

(Thanks to the Tribal Messenger for its review and to our brothers and sisters of Native American Publishers in California.)

Fig Tree John *by Edwin Corle. Liveright Publishers, New York 1934/1973. $2.45 paperbound.*

Forty years after it was first published, this book still gives some striking insights into the current "Indian uprisings." Corle's novel tells the story of the disintegration and destruction of a lone Apache man and his family when they are faced with the relentless and indifferent invasion of their territory by whites.

It is a terse, unsentimental, evocative tale, set in the desert around the Salton Sea during the first 30 years of this century, and based on the lives of real people. It is scheduled to be made into a movie.

The disintegration of the family and life of Agocho, or Fig Tree John, as he is called by whites, pulls him from middle-aged physical and spiritual vigor and the religious serenity and beauty of his desert spring to a broken, bitter and disillusioned half-crazed old man who becomes increasingly violent in his desperation to avenge his wife's death and to retrieve his son from the encroaching white world.

Agocho's defeat in the face of this world, a defeat as raw and bitter as the inland sea itself, is all the more pitiful as Corle shows the white world to be completely unaware of the life and death struggle waged against it from this single Apache soul. The defeat is administered at no expense to the enemy.

To the white ranchers who spread south to almost engulf Agocho's spot by the spring, he is not much more than an aging, reclusive Indian who behaves strangely: a little more foolish, a little more pathetic, a little more violent as he gets old. And his final acts of rage, a violence all the more cruel and tragic because it was aimed not at the white world but at his son and his son's bride, is to the ranchers completely unexplainable.

Corle's characterization of this world is that much more chilling when it's clear how accurately it describes so much of the white world surrounding today's native peoples, a white world which sees Indians acting "unexplainably" at the BIA, Wounded Knee, and a YMCA camp.

(Thanks to David MacPhail for his review in the Sonoma County Bugle from which this review is extracted.)

Salvation and the Savage: An Analysis of Protestant Missions and American Indian Response, 1787-1862 *by Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., University of Kentucky Press, 1965.*

Surely, the title must be with tongue in cheek – but Professor Berkhofer seems to share the same bias as the missionaries of whom he writes: the native people *are* savages to him – at least he refers to them as such throughout his book.

Under the guise of "objectivity", Berkhofer says he is merely examining two cultures as they came in contact with each other. He seems to ignore that there is a morality which applies to peoples as well as individuals, and that Christian European contact with native peoples was not innocent.

"Both groups behaved according to their own cultural systems," Berkhofer apologizes. "Thus current indictments of past American conduct are on the same plane as earlier American condemnations of savage society," he argues.

Were that argument to be pursued, it would be impossible for native people to fight against theft of their lands, oppression of their peoples, and loss of their rights as human beings: Americans would simply have to say, "Excuse me, but we are only operating on the basis of our cultural values."

Academically, Berkhofer has collected together some very useful information. Why he selected to analyze only Protestant missions is not known – certainly Catholic missionaries operated out of the same American culture and frequently in equally disastrous ways. His pretense of objectivity, however, slips away with his references to "the heathens". The failure of missionary efforts, he believes, was due to "culture conflict and misunderstanding."

The days of the missionary are rapidly coming to an end – and if mission groups need historians to justify their labors, let them write. Berkhofer would do the job admirably. But when native people want to detail missionary involvement in the attempted destruction of their nations and ways of life, they will have to find someone else whose education has not blinded them to what the most of mankind regards as right and wrong. Berkhofer cannot be their teacher.

Books reviewed in AKWESASNE NOTES are available from NOTES if a price is given. Write: NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

Two Books By Vine Deloria Jr.

Of Utmost Good Faith, *by Vine Deloria, Jr. A Bantam Book, 1971, $1.95.*

Vine Deloria's book is the case of the American Indian against the Federal Government of the United States. It collects cases, treaties, and documents that show the illegal wrong of the U.S. and its citizens from the time they broke the Pickering Treaty right through the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 when Indians were put into the mainstream of legal complexities.

The book should be read by non-Indians so they can understand the complexity of the legal monster that has been set on the native people.

"A United States general once characterized an Indian reservation as a piece of land surrounded by thieves. Imagine, also, if you will, a rather gooey glob of inertia-bound career bureaucrats surrounded by well-intentioned do-gooders who flit in and out of the mess with no understanding but the best of motives," Deloria writes. "Record all of this in the special esoteric language of the academic community in which footnotes become the key to understanding and you have a fair characterization of Indian Affairs. Now sprinkle liberally with legal phrases and pilot projects presided over by tribal councils that change every two years and you have it."

Deloria shows how states have ignored federal law and developed their own theories and laws in reference to state jurisdiction, hunting and fishing, and state taxation. He raises legitimate claims for compensation for losses at Wounded Knee, Sand Creek, and the lesser-known Baker Massacre of the Blackfeet. Bills should even now be introduced for compensation for the descendants of these and other atrocities.

One act Deloria exhibits is the "Indian Depredations Act of 1891" which not many people know of. The Act was passed by Congress after the treaties were signed with the Indian Nations calling upon tribes to compensate settlers for treaties that Indians broke, but in return, the tribes could not go to court and sue the United States for the same kinds of violations by settlers. Thus many settlers quickly sued the tribes and millions of acres of land were taken.

– Randy Stearman

God is Red *by Vine Deloria. Grosset & Dunlap, 376 pages, $7.95. Hardcover only.*

Dee Brown taught [Euro/Americans] to see the westward movement as the native American tribes saw it – looking not westward, but eastward. Euro/Americans loved this change of historical perspective and felt wonderfully guilty for [their] past sins against the aborigines. Euro/Americans made *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee* a best-seller because they love history. Religion is what Christians do with history.

Vine Deloria thinks religion is what people do with the present. He says Euro/Americans must take their stand here and now. They must change their perspective not for the sake of historical revision, but as a means of religious conversion.

Essentially, the conversion required is from time to space, from history to land, from belief to experience. A religious conversion and its concurrent theological revolution is required of all Euro/Americans. From the Indian point of view, all Euro/Americans – believers and unbelievers, churchgoers and late sleepers, fundamentalists and secularists – are Christians with only negligible denominational differences: they all hold title to American land, some of it sacred to the tribes, in the name of a European god whose theologians justified its conquest with the childishly shallow doctrine of "discovery" (finders-keepers).

Most literature dealing with native American peoples is either of poor quality, or plays into the prevailing culture's neurotic insistence that its Indians be either dead or, if alive, picturesque. However, a number of books about Indian religion are an exception to this rule, and together with a revival of tribal religion, they make it possible for Deloria to write a highly telling polemic against Christianity.

Creation: "Then" or "Here"?

The core of *God is Red* is a comparison of Christian and Indian beliefs about the nature of religion, creation, the meaning of history, the character of religious experience, death, human personality and community, and the role of religion in the contemporary world. The basic difference between the two religions is that one perceives the world in terms of time, and the other in terms of space. Creation, for example, happened "then" for Christians, but "here" for the tribes.

"Christianity has traditionally appeared to place its major emphasis on creation as a specific event while Indian tribal religions could be said to consider creation as an ecosystem present in a definable place."

There was no fall from grace for the red man, but neither was he given dominion over nature. Each species of creatures he thought of as "peoples" in the way that he thought of other tribes as peoples:

"Equality is thus not simply a human attribute, but a recognition of the creatureness of all creation." Trees talk with one another and with the Indian. They talk to white people too, but white people do not listen.

For Christians, past events are the sources of the sacred. Tribal religion locates the holy in sacred hills, mountains, rivers, forests, and lakes. Because of this contrast, and the history of white conquest and land exploitation, the Indian perceives the white man's estrangement from nature as the central theme of the Christian religion. The results, as Vine Deloria describes them, are a fear of death, an exaggerated sense of self-importance (with salvation understood apart from the community), the loss of a sense of home, and religions inability to prevent the domination of life by economics.

Religion Requires Listening to the Birds

White salvation does not lie in a conversion to Indian religion as one might be concerted to Catholicism or Krishna consciousness. Unfortunately, tribal religion is nearly as prostrate as Indian life itself under the burden of European conquest and the subsequent history of broken treaties. Sacred lands have become National Parks and National Forests. Some are now atomic testing grounds. Even the sacred Black Hills have been desecrated by Gutzon Borglum's sculpture of the heads of four American presidents. The tribes too have been moved away from their religious sources and educated to feel ill at ease at sacred rituals.

Indians as well as Christians will now find it enormously difficult to experience the sacred in the American landscape. But the native American tribes once knew, as virtually no Christians have ever known, that "Religion cannot be kept within the bounds of sermons and scriptures. It is a force in itself and calls for the integration of lands and peoples in harmonious unity." Religion requires listening to the trees, the animals and birds, and to the "voices of the places of this land."

Many readers will find fault with the Christian writers Deloria relies upon to describe the Christian faith, but they serve well enough. Other writers more in keeping with one's own Christian bias would no doubt serve Deloria's criticism just as well. Most readers will wish that less space had been given to the defects of Christianity and more to the religion of the land and its native peoples. But after reading *God is Red* it will be impossible to be content with Indian history and romance. Deloria makes an irresistable case for reading *The Sacred Pipe, Black Elk Speaks, Lame Deer: Seeker of Visions* and other sources of tribal religious wisdom as an aid to saving one's land and soul.

– George H. Frein

(George Frein teaches in the Religious Studies Department at the University of North Dakota. He is writing a book about the sacred places in America. This review appeared in The Nation on February 9, 1974, and we are grateful to that publication, and to the author.)

And.....

He Walked the Americas *by L. Taylor Hansen. Amherst Press, 1963.*

Native people are instructed by their elders not to argue over spiritual matters. And if L. Taylor Hansen wants to believe that after the white people crucified a spiritual leader, Jesus, he travelled throughout North America teaching the Indians how to be good, that's really up to him.

At least, however, he could have done more research in attempting to prove his thesis. Basically, he just took every messenger from the Creation who came to native people (and generally they treated these messengers far more handsomely than what Jesus got) and transformed that person into a green-eyed, fair, white-robed bearded gentleman just like the pictures in Sunday School.

The book will be primarily useful for missionaries to convince native children how much they are like the Christians in their beliefs. But even if it were true that Jesus did teach native people on their own turf how to be good, he never said they should give up their culture, their medicine people, and their ceremonies.

From the Belly of the Shark: Poems by Chicanos, Eskimos, Hawaiians, Indians, Puerto Ricans with Related Poems by Others, *edited by Walter Lowenfels, 1973. 350 pages, paperback. Vintage books. $1.95.*

This landmark anthology was brought together by the poet-laureate of humanist causes, Walter Lowenfels, to clearly demonstrate that native peoples were oppressed by the "white literary poetry establishment" as well as by other forces.

"Long after the white civilization has fulfilled its destiny – whatever that may be – our older brothers [the native peoples] will be here," Lowenfels writes in his introduction. "What we have in this book, therefore, is not only a collection of past poems but a foresight into poems to come."

The collection demonstrates something else: there is a common bond between the various groups of native peoples, expressed as a love for their land and their people and their way of life. Why, then, with such powerful poetry, have native writers been ignored?

Lowenfels feels that the standards which white critics and editors set blind them to the richness of other styles and verbal textures. "The genocidal rejection of poets of color has set up a pseudostandard of what constitutes poetry in the United States," Lowenfels writes. Even today, he points out, a collection of poetry such as his will not be considered as "American Literature", but will be set apart for specialized study of "ethnic peoples."

From the Belly of the Shark includes many selections of poets and poetry which have appeared in NOTES. Perhaps this book will be encouragement to more native writers – and hopefully, it will encourage those who are teachers and critics to set aside James Whitcomb Riley long enough to allow poets of this land and life to fill the hearts of America.

The Indians of Kansas, *published by* Heritage of Kansas, *Teacher's College Press, Emporia, Kansas, 1973.*

Requests for information on native people from school teachers, a new interest in folklore of all kinds, and the current interest in native events such as Wounded Knee have caused the editors of a now-defunct historical publication to reprint six articles from their old issues (1957-62) in a paperback.

While the book does contain useful information about the Kansa, Potawatomies, Kickapoos, Iowas, and Sac and Fox, it is served with so many undigestables that any edible morsels will have to be picked out with great care. The book will do nothing to acquaint Kansas people with the facts they need to judge Wounded Knee or to understand what happened there.

It is unfortunate that so much time and effort goes into a volume such as this without any consultation or input from native people. Thus the errors and racism of the authors will not be allowed to die as old pages turn to dust, but have been revived for still another generation of Kansas children to learn during their "Indian units."

New York, New York – A $500 prize for a children's book manuscript was awarded recently to Michele P. Robinson, a native woman living in Butte, Montana. Her story, *Grandfather's Bridge,* is of a young Indian following the traditions of his people despite the criticisms of his white classmates.

Nanabah Chee Dodge of Phoenix, Arizona, also received a prize for her manuscript titled *Morning Arrow,* the story of a young Indian child who learns that life can be beautiful without establishment trappings.

The prizes were among those awarded by the Council on Interracial Books for Children, organized in 1966. The Council is a non-profit organization of writers, editors, librarians and teachers which is supported by private contributors and the Ford Foundation and Carnegie Corporation of New York.

The sixth annual contest is now opening, and further information can be obtained by interested authors by writing Council on Interracial Books for Children, Inc. 1841 Broadway, New York, N.Y. 10023.

RESOURCES

THE MUSIC OF OUR PEOPLE

We are now distributing Indian House recordings. While we have offered albums and cassettes and 8-track cartridges at retail, we are now able to supply bookstores, record shops, or to supply albums for groups and individuals with fund-raising projects, pow-wow groups, campus Indian programs, etc.

A combination of any twenty albums, cassettes, or cartridges on the Indian House label is available at a 40% discount from the $6 list price. We can supply a variety of popular recordings, or specific titles can be requested.

A special packet of 28 albums (one or two of a variety of titles selected by us) is available for $100 postpaid. The retail value is $168 when sold at $6 each, or $140 if sold at $5 each. This sampler is a good chance for a bookstore or record shop to discover popular titles.

We know it's April, but the 1974 AKWESASNE NOTES calendars are still in demand – the drawings and quotations will make attractive framings and posters long after the days have gone by. There's historical data for most days of the year on the 17x23 14-page display.

The calendar is $2.25, including mailing tube and postage. What we have is what there is – no more will be printed after these are gone.

While earlier there were printing delays which slowed delivery, there are enough now to supply groups who wish to sell the calendar to raise funds. In quantities of 50 or more, they are $1 each.

Books Published By Akwesasne Notes

THE LAW OF THE GREAT PEACE: the constitution of the League of the People of the Longhouse. 80 pages, illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.00.

MIGRATION OF THE IROQUOIS: told in English, and in pictographs, with illustrations by Kahonhes. 36 pages. Written by Ray Fadden. 50 cents.

WAMPUM BELTS – a book recording Iroquois historical transactions memorialized by wampum belts, with pictures of replicas of the belts made by Ray Fadden (Tehanetorens), owner of the Six Nations Museum at Onchiota, New York, and students of the Indian Way School at Akwesasne. $1.50.

COSTUME OF THE IROQUOIS: a Six Nations Museum pamphlet on dress clothing of Iroquois People. 27 pages, $1.25.

B.I.A., I'M NOT YOUR INDIAN ANYMORE: The Trail of Broken Treaties Twenty Points. The account from the pages of NOTES about the historic occupation of the BIA headquarters in November, 1972, and the dialogue with the White House on the Twenty Points (the most important recent statement on the thrust of native activism for this decade). $1.95.

A MESSAGE FOR ALL PEOPLE: the Hopi Prophecy as told by Dan Katchongva. A booklet of spiritual directions. Illustrated. $1.00.

THE DECLARATION OF BARBADOS is a little pamphlet, costs only 25 cents, and should be the topic of discussion in every anthropology class and in every church which antes up funds for mission work. Ask your local anthropologist if he/she subscribes to the Declaration.

(All NOTES books are available for resale by native groups and bookstores at a 40% discount in quantity.)

WOUNDED KNEE STAMPS: The United States isn't likely to issue a stamp commemorating the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee, so we did. The stamps will raise consciousness affixed to letters, or posted in handy public locations. They come 36 to a sheet, and are available postpaid for $2.00 – of which $1.00 is a donation to the Wounded Knee Legal Defense/ Offense Fund. Groups wishing to raise funds for Wounded Knee may find the sale of these stamps a useful method.

This is the poster from which the stamps were made. Reduction here is smaller than the size of the stamps.

Posters Available From AKWESASNE NOTES

1 *South America*

2 *Chief Joseph*

3 *Wounded Knee*

4 *Longhouse to Kiva*

5 *Zuni Governor*

6 *Sitting Bull*

7 *Three Sisters*

8 *Grandma Hunter*

9 *Poundmaker*

10 *Shackled Native*

11 *Family Portrait*

12 *Three Horsemen*

13 *Fire Carrier*

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683

ORDER FORM

POSTER NUMBER	HOW MANY	NAME OF POSTER	PRICE EACH	TOTAL PRICE
		Also available:		
		HOPI MESSAGE		
		LA RAZA / LOS INDIOS		
		A BETTER WAY		
		and the poster in this issue, SIGNS OF THE TIMES		
			TOTAL OF ORDER	$

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____ Apt. _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

Posters are 50 cents each, or 3 for $1. People who wish them protected in shipping by a cardboard mailing tube should add 50 cents. The posters are also available at $25 for 100 for resale by groups, stores, and individuals.

RESOURCES RESOURCES

– photo adapted from the American Indian Press Association pamphlet, "Shove It, Buster," a collection of photos and captions for belly-laughter

BOOKS

INDIGENA

The International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs is a non-political and non-religious organization concerned with the oppression of ethnic groups in various countries. It publishes a series of pamphlets of case studies which are valuable as resources, and for use by anthropology classes.

DECLARATION OF BARBADOS – A statement on the role of anthropologists and churches in preventing oppression. 8 pages, 15 cents.

ABORIGINAL LAND RIGHTS – primarily on the Australian situation. 24 pages, $.40. By A. Barrie Pittock.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE AMAZON: The Campa Case. By John H. Bodley, 15 pages. 40 cents.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY OF THE BRAZILIAN AMAZON REGION (1957-1973). 44 pages, $1.00.

THE URGENT SITUATION OF THE CUIVA INDIANS OF COLOMBIA – by Bernard Arcand. 28 pages. $ .50.

THE FOREST INDIANS IN THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION OF PERU by Stefano Varese. 29 pages, $ .50.

THE ANATOMY OF A LAND INVASION SCHEME IN YEKUANA TERRITORY, VENEZUELA by Walter Coppens. 24 pages, $ .50.

THE ACHE INDIANS: GENOCIDE IN PARAGUAY by Mark Munzel. 82 pages, $1.50.

THE DYNAMICS OF THE YE'CUANA ("MACQUIRITARE") POLITICAL SYSTEM: Stability and Crisis. 24 pages by Nelly Arvelo Jiménez. $ .50.

TRIBAL SURVIVAL IN THE ALTO MARANON: THE AIUARUNA CASE by Henning Siverts. 82 pages, $1.50.

THE BRAZILIAN INDIGENOUS PROBLEM AND POLICY: The Example of the Xingu National Park by Carmen Junqueira. How the Brazilian government violates its own policies, causing the extermination of native peoples. 50 cents.

THE PLAINS

THE OMAHA TRIBE by Alice Fletcher and Francis LaFlesche. First published in 1911, based on 29 years study. In two volumes:

Volume I is devoted to tribal origins, early history, tribal organization and government, individual rites, and the quest for food. 300p, paperback $3.50

Volume II considers social life and societies, music, warfare, health, death, religion, language. 300 p., paper $3.50

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE by Paul Radin. First published 1923. The Indian "has been allowed to tell his own facts his own way." 500p., paperback. $3.50.

CHEYENNE MEMORIES by John Stands in Timber. 300 p., paperback $2.25. Recounting of Cheyenne traditions by a keeper of oral literature.

BOOKS

BOOKS ON THE PEOPLE OF THE LONGHOUSE

THE IROQUOIS by Frank Speck. 95 p. paperback. $1.00. Nice photographs of Iroquois crafts, and an introduction to the culture.

THE GREAT TREE AND THE LONGHOUSE by Hazel Hertzberg. 122p. paperback. A somewhat anthropological, but pleasant book for junior and senior high ages. $2.50.

THE WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE by Paul Wallace. 57p. Hardcover. $5.00 A thin but heavy book on the origins and law of the Iroquois Confederacy and Iroquois religious and moral beliefs.

THE GREAT LAW OF PEACE, published by White Roots of Peace. 84p, paperback, $1.00. An English translation of the Iroquois Constitution, "The Great Nice."

MIGRATION OF THE IROQUOIS, published by White Roots of Peace, by Aren Akweks (Ray Fadden). 32 p. paperback. 50 cents. Illustrations by Kahonhes, with pictographic writings. Ancient American history.

THE SECRET OF NO FACE by Chief Everet Parker and Oledoska. A Seneca legend, and a great story for children everywhere. 174 p., paperback, illustrated. $3.95.

PARKER ON THE IROQUOIS: collected work of Arthur C. Parker, edited by Wm. Fenton. 296p, hardcover. $8.95. Contains Iroquois Uses of Maize and Other Food Plants; The Code of Handsome Lake; and the Constitution of the Five Nations. A valuable reference work.

IROQUOIS CEREMONIAL OF MIDWINTER by Elizabeth Tooker. 179 p., hardcover. $7.50. Although the author approaches the ceremony as if writing a cook-book, there is valuable information around which readers can instill the proper spirit.

THE IROQUOIS IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION by Barbara Graymount. 296p hardcover. $11.50. Although somewhat from a non-Indian perspective, a useful scholarly work.

DEATH AND REBIRTH OF THE SENECA NATION by Anthony F.C. Wallace. 337p. paperback. $2.45. About the renaissance of a people – a clear, deep historical book about religious and cultural Iroquois life.

LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS by Lewis Henry Morgan, 461 p. paperback $3.95. Over a century ago, Morgan wrote this classic account with much useful information.

HISTORY OF THE FIVE INDIAN NATIONS by Cadwallader Colden (1727). 181 p., paperback $2.45. Fascinating reading by a colonial scholar discussing religion, manners, customs, laws, and forms of government of the Iroquois some two centuries ago.

Books of Photographs

AMERICAN INDIAN PORTRAITS from the Wanamaker Edpedition of 1913, edited by Charles R. Reynolds, Jr. 10x12, 120 portraits, $12.50 hardcover. A beautiful book of men, women, and children of various tribes.

IN A SACRED MANNER WE LIVE: Photographs of the North American Indian by Edward S. Curtis, with an introduction and commentary by Don D. Fowler. 149 pages, 118 of Curtis' best photos. $5.95, softcover.

NORTHWEST PACIFIC COAST

UNCOMMON CONTROVERSY: Fishing Rights of the Muckleshoot, Puyallup, and Nisqually Indians. A Report prepared for the American Friends Service Committee 216 p., paperback, $2.95. Important legal and historical background to a continuing controversy.

THE WOLF AND THE RAVEN: Totem Poles of Southeastern Alaska, by Viola Garfield & Linn Forrest. Photographs of poles, and an explanation of their meaning. 150 p. paperback. $3.95.

CROOKED BEAK OF HEAVEN: Masks and Other Ceremonial Art of the Northwest Coast. Photographs of 121 items. 96p., paperback. $4.95.

INDIANS OF THE NORTHWEST COAST by Philip Drucker. An American Museum of Science Book describing the economy, society, religion, life-cycle, and art of the peoples of the area. 220 p., paperback. $2.50.

POTLATCH, by George Clutesi. 188 p., now available in paperback. $2.95. How the ceremony would look and feel to a participant.

KARNEE: A PAIUTE NARRATIVE by Lalla Scott. 95 cents 160p. paper. The life of Annie Lowry. The story of a woman, born of an Indian mother and a white father a century ago.

SON OF RAVEN, SON OF DEER by George Clutesi. 126 p., hardcover, $4.50. Illustrated by the author. A collection of 12 stories handed down in the Clutesi family.

INDIANS OF THE NORTH PACIFIC COAST: edited by Tom McFeat. 260 p., paperback, $2.95. Key writings from 17 authors, including sections on social organization, the potlatch, rank & class, ceremonialism, and deviance and normality.

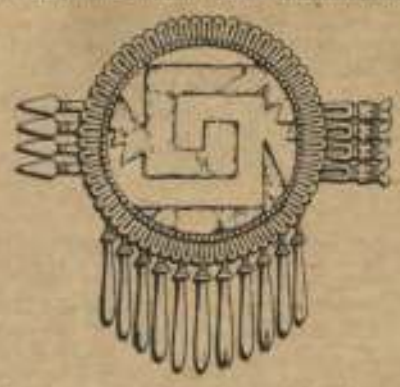
Fiction

I HEARD THE OWL CALL MY NAME by Margaret Craven. $3.95. A priest comes to a B.C. village to convert, and becomes involved in a human, intercultural exchange.

LIGHT IN THE FOREST by Conrad Richter. 75 cents. The classic tale of a white boy raised by Indians. A moving & beautiful tale.

CHEYENNE AUTUMN by Mari Sandoz. $1.25. A novel based on the removal – and return of the Cheyenne in 1878. An American epic of an incredible frozen flight.

FIG TREE JOHN – by Edwin Corle. 310 p., paperback, $2.45. A brilliant character study of an Apache man, living away from his people. Engrossing fiction. Highly recommended.



Contemporary Books of Merit

CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS: An Indian Manifesto by Vine Deloria. A biting, witty statement to destroy white stereotypes. $1.25.

RED POWER: The American Indians' Fight for Freedom by Alvin M. Josephy Jr. $2.95. Contemporary statements from many sources.

THE NEW INDIANS by Stan Steiner. paper. $2.95. Indian protest and resistance in the late 1960s – a prehistory to today's events.

THE UNJUST SOCIETY by Harold Cardinal. $2.75, paperback. Contemporary views of the situation of native people of Canada. An important book.

WE TALK, YOU LISTEN: New Tribes, New Turf, by Vine Deloria, Jr. 228 p., paper, $2.45. First efforts to verbalize the Indian viewpoint of the disintegrating core of American society, and the peaceful revolution that may reorganize American society into tribal groups. An important position paper for discussion.

ALCATRAZ IS NOT AN ISLAND by the Indians of All Tribes, with photographs by Michelle Vignes. 120 p., paper, $3.95. The chronicle of an attempt to reclaim and reunite with land. A new history, containing proposals, documents, politics, poems and paintings. Proceeds to family of Richard Oakes.

THE ONLY GOOD INDIAN: THE HOLLYWOOD GOSPEL by Ralph and Natasha Friar. A treasure trove of detail on how native peoples have fared in dime novels, stage plays, songs, poems, Wild West shows, and finally and continuously, on screen. $12.50 346 pages hardcover only. Illustrated.

AZTECAS DEL NORTE: THE CHICANOS OF AZTLAN by Jack Forbes. 95 cents. An understanding of native peoples who speak Spanish will become important to a full understanding of the North American heritage.

The Blue Cloud Abbey Pamphlets

Some might think it strange for such nice and supportive materials to be coming from a Catholic monastery – but having met the fine people there, it's not so strange at all. These are reprints from the Blue Cloud Quarterly, available on subscription from the Abbey at Marvin, South Dakota 57251. We have six reprints available for a total of $1.50, and consist of short stories, poetry, songs, readings. Good for school use, too.

Legal Matters

OF UTMOST GOOD FAITH: The Case of the American Indian against the Federal Government of the United States, as documented in Treaties, Speeches, Judicial Rulings, Congressional Bills and Hearings from 1830 to the Present, edited by Vine Deloria, Jr. $1.95.

TAXING THOSE THEY FOUND HERE: An Examination of the Tax-Exempt Status of the American Indian, by Jay Vincent White. $6.00.

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF TREATIES AND AGREEMENTS MADE BY INDIAN TRIBES WITH THE UNITED STATES. For researchers, a handy reference. 30 pages. $3.00.

HANDBOOK OF FEDERAL INDIAN LAW by Felix S. Cohen. The unexpurgated 1939 edition. A heavy reference volume for libraries and councils. $25.00.

THE PONCA CHIEFS: An Account of the Trial of Standing Bear, by Thomas H. Tibbles. 143 p., paper, $2.25. Eyewitness account of the trial that established that Indians were, in fact and in law, human beings.

RED MAN'S LAND, WHITE MAN'S LAW – by Wilcomb Washburn. $8.95. A clear understanding of legal history.

Biographies

BLACK ELK SPEAKS, Being the Life Story of A Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux, by John G. Neihardt. $1.50.

WHEN THE TREE FLOWERED: The Fictional Autobiography of Eagle Voice, a Sioux Indian, by John G. Neihardt. $1.65.

WAR CHIEF JOSEPH by Helen Addison Howard and Dan McGrath. $2.65

WOODEN LEG: A Warrior Who Fought Custer (interpreted by Thomas Marquis.) The recollections of an old Cheyenne man. $2.25.

SON OF OLD MAN HAT: A Navajo Autobiography recorded by Walter Dyk. A sensitive frank simple life story. $2.25.

I, NUGLIAK. Hardcover 200 p., $5.95. An Inuit (Eskimo) life of a man who used both bone implements and a typewriter. An engrossing tale well told.

JIM WHITEWOLF: The Life of a Kiowa Apache Indian. paperback 142 p., $1.75. Born in the second half of the 1800s, Jim Whitewolf recalls his life, his values, his reactions to Anglo ways.

INDIAN BOYHOOD by Charles A. Eastman. 244 p. paperback. $2.00. First published in 1902. The first fifteen years of traditional life of the Sioux.

WHEN THE TREE FLOWERED by John G. Neihardt. A fictionalized autobiography of Eagle Voice, a Sioux. 248 p., paperback. $1.65. A warm human projection as seen by a senior poet.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A WINNEBAGO INDIAN 90 p., paperback. $1.25. A classic written in 1920, of a man who lived the traditional life, became an alcoholic in the white world, and found himself again with peyote and new religious experience.

Royal Ontario Museum Charts

These beautifully designed and printed charts are spectacular: about 34 x 40 inches, with an explanation in French and English. Great for displays, for classes, even hanging in a home. There are six in the series:

NASKAPI (a northern people)
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS
QUILLWORK
WOOD CREE
TOYS AND GAMES
ASSINIBOINE

Each chart is $3.00, postpaid.

RESOURCES

Indian House Records

ROUND DANCE SONGS OF TAOS PUEBLO – available in two volumes. Specify volume one or volume two.

TAOS ROUND DANCE – again in two vol. with the special intricate melodies Taos singers are famous for. Specify volume 1 or 2.

DITCH-CLEANING & PICNIC SONGS OF PICURIS PUEBLO – a collector's type album of an individual singer sharing work songs.

TURTLE DANCE SONGS OF SAN JUAN PUEBLO – a beautifully strong album.

CLOUD DANCE SONGS OF SAN JUAN PUEBLO – songs for the coming of Spring.

ZUNI FAIR LIVE – a collection of songs sung for public enjoyment.

NAVAJO SWAY SONGS – social songs sung to help people regain good health.

NIGHT & DAY YEIBICHEI – more Navajo songs.

NAVAJO SKIP DANCE & TWO-STEP SONGS

NAVAJO GIFT SONGS & ROUND DANCE

WAR DANCE SONGS OF THE PONCA – two separate volumes. Specify vol. 1 or 2.

PONCA PEYOTE SONGS – Three volumes of this ceremony to see the Creation. Specify volume desired.

COMANCHE PEYOTE SONGS – available in two volumes.

HANDGAME OF THE KIOWA, KIOWA APACHE * in two volumes. The songs of prayer, good health, living a good life, and brotherhood.

HANDGAME OF THE KIOWA, KIOWA-APACHE, AND COMANCHE – all the excitement of Carnegie Roadrunners vs. Billy Goat Hill.

KIOWA 49 WAR EXPEDITION SONGS – exciting Plains-style dance songs.

KIOWA CHURCH SONGS – Christian songs sung in Kiowa in a unique fashion.

SONGS OF THE MUSKOGEE CREEK – available in two volumes. If you like stomp-dancing and sound of shells . . .

BLACKFOOT A-1 CLUB SINGERS – two volumes available.

OLD AGENCY SINGERS OF THE BLOOD RESERVE – two volumes available.

SOUNDS OF INDIAN AMERICA – PLAINS AND SOUTHWEST – a variety of songs collected at the Gallup Ceremonials several years ago.

PUEBLO SONGS OF THE SOUTHWEST – a collection of many styles of songs from various pueblos.

Due to increased costs of vinyl, all albums, cassettes, and 8-track cartridges are now $6.00, postage paid.

HERBS

VALERIAN ROOT

A full description of this relaxing tea was published in the Late Autumn, 1973, issue. It is available for $1.50 for 3 ounces with a leaflet describing its historical use by native peoples.

AMERICAN DOGWOOD

Dogwood is the common name for many shrubs, trees, and herbs. American Dogwood (cornus florida) grows about 12 to 30 feet high in Canada and the U.S. It has a slow-growing compact wood, covered with a rough and brownish bark – it is the bark part that is used by native people for good health.

Native people use dogwood as a substitute for quinine, and some peoples have used it for diseases caused by weakness of the stomach and the bowels. It is said to revitalize the tissues and speedily removes pain from diseased parts.

A teaspoon of the bark into a cup of boiling water, and steeped for ½ hour makes a tea – half can be taken at bedtime, hot or warm. Some people take a mouthful three times a day – more than a cup or so during a day is considered too much.

We urge people who want to become acquainted with this helper as a free gift from the Creation to gather it themselves, cutting the bark for their own use. For those who cannot do this, we can send a 3-ounce pouch of cut bark, postpaid, for $1. Write: AKWESASNE NOTES, Mohawk Nation, via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683.

More Records

CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS – Good music with a strong message by Floyd Westerman. $6.00.

WILLIE DUNN – an album by Micmac singer Willie Dunn, produced by AKWESASNE NOTES people. Folksinging in a double album with lyrics. $5.00.

TAPES

GHOST DANCE: a discussion with an historian of Indian music about the origins of the Ghost Dance, its relation to Indian religious tradition, and how its misinterpretation contributed to the Wounded Knee Massacre. 15 minutes.

AIM SINCE WOUNDED KNEE: conversations with John Trudel, Dennis Banks, and Russell Means on the new directions the American Indian Movement has begun to take since its August meeting in Oklahoma. 45 minutes.

PINE RIDGE SINCE WOUNDED KNEE: AIM leaders and lawyers talk about the mood of the community and the attitude of the people of Pine Ridge in the months following the siege of the Oglala Nation by U.S. forces. 45 minutes.

REBIRTH OF THE OGLALA NATION: History of the treaties and land-ripoffs at Pine Ridge, the events leading up to the occupation of Wounded Knee, and people talking about the community inside the occupied village. Told through interviews. 15 minutes.

FORT GEORGE: Edward Buller, a Metis scholar, describes the growing tensions felt even in the first few months of construction in the principal town of the James Bay Cree; the half-truths of his fellow anthropologists; the directions the people might take now that the court has rejected the injunction petition. 15 minutes.

FIRE AT ILE-LA CROIX: Wayne Stonechild, president of the Native Youth Assn. of Saskatchewan, ex-corporal Ramsey of the RCMP, and Dr. Howard Adams tell of the rapidly deteriorating relations between native people and the RCMP in the context of Wounded Knee and the occupation of the Saskatoon Indian/Metis Friendship Centre & the burning of the local public school at Ile la Croix. 15 minutes.

NO MESSAGE FOR THE SOUTH: A provincial cabinet minister, a judge, and a TV reporter are among those taken in by Cree foster parents to learn the language and the ways of the people of Moose Lake. Both foster parents and their "children" sum up their experience of exchanging roles by saying, "There is no message for the people down south until they come and live with us." 15 minutes.

JUDGMENT ON JAMES BAY: The recent decision by a Quebec court ordering work on the James Bay Hydro Project to cease, and an appeal decision lifting the order, are discussed by Cree and Inuit leaders, their lawyers, Canadian politicians and others. 45 minutes.

RIEL, DUMONT AND THE BUILDING OF THE RAILWAY: As Louis Riel has become the folk hero of the prairies, Metis people have come more to admire his chief military lieutenant, Gabriel Dumont. Historian Desmond Morton tells why Dumont is the greater leader, and an Australian playwright portrays Canada's first Prime Minister participating in a 'negative conspiracy' to bring on the Second Metis uprising to stimulate support for the building of the railway. 30 minutes.

WINTER CARNIVAL: Traditional Indian skills are kept alive in northern Manitoba by a Winter Carnival, itself an Indian tradition at the Pas Reserve. Along with the better known skills, such as dog-sled racing, trap-setting, are flour packing and fiddling. A collage of music, descriptions, and interviews with the sounds of people having fun. 15 minutes.

PAULINE JOHNSON: This radio play sets the hopes and dreams of the Indian nations, and the story of her own life and death, as portrayed in the writings of the Mohawk poet, against the quaint and peculiar customs of the English society which had invaded her lands. 45 minutes

We have a series of tapes available for schools, discussion groups, tape libraries, radio, and individuals. The series is always being updated and added to, but this list is mostly of new additions:

Prices are for reel-to-reel tape at 3 3/4 ips, or on cassette or cartridge. (Please specify!) Institutions are expected to pay full price, but individuals and those who can't afford more can pay half-price.

30 minutes – $7.00
45 minutes – $8.50
60 minutes – $10.00
90 minutes – $11.00

XTRACOPIES

EXTRA COPIES of this issue are available for single copy orders, or for bulk distribution and resale. They can be sent out by regular mail prepaid, or by bus collect, for prompt delivery.

The paper is useful to raise consciousness about native events and situations, and is also good for fund-raising. On consignment, the paper is 35 cents each – you pay after they have been sold. Payment in advance is 25 cents each. For $5, then, a person could give 20 copies to friends or a social studies class. For $25, a reservation group could see that 100 homes each received a copy. Churches with a genuine concern for Indian events could order copies for distribution within the parish.

By whatever means, we urge each person reading this to consider ways by which this message can reach the most possible people.

BACK ISSUES

BACK ISSUES are available for some editions for 50 cents each. There are eight still in print, so all available back issues would be $4.

Volume One (1969) is out of print, and available only on microfilm. There were ten issues that year.

Volume Two (1970) had seven issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Three (1971) had nine issues. All are now out of print, available only on microfilm.

Volume Four (1972) had six issues. Three are still available, numbers 3,4 and 6.

Volume Five (1973) had six issues. The first issue on the Trail of Broken Treaties, is out of print, although it is now partly available in book form. The other issues are still available.

Volume Six (1974) is just underway with this issue.

MICROFILM

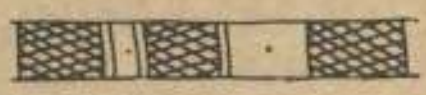
AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

Bell & Howell Co., Underground Press Package, Microphoto Division, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio 44691

Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd., Route 100, Milwood, N.Y. 10546

University Microfilms Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America 21 Harristown Road, Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452.



INDIAN TOBACCO

KINNI KINNICK – blends of herbs, leaves, barks, and fine tobaccos according to traditional recipes. At the Mohawk Nation, we purchase quality ingredients from all over the country, and blend them carefully. The blends are then packaged and shipped – a project which helps some members of the Akwesasne traditional community and which helps keep NOTES alive and strong.

There are two samplers available. Each is sent out with a descriptive booklet.

The Basic Sampler consists of Eastern Woodlands, Western Plains, and Ceremonial-style blends. The three 2-ounce pouches are sent for $3.15 postpaid.

The Special Sampler consists of Northwest Coast, Price of the Iroquois, and Old Chippewa Straight blends. The latter contains no tobacco – just ingredients from northern forests. The three 2 ounce pouches are also $3.15.

(Commercial dealers and others wishing to re-sell Kinni-Kinnick may order in quantity at a 1/3 discount. A special box containing six packets of each of the six varieties, with a retail value of $37.60, costs $25.00 postpaid.)

Funds earned from the sale of books and other resources is used to buy food, maintain shelter, and other needs of those who work on AKWESASNE NOTES, and for supplies, utilities, and transportation.

Think of our brothers and sisters in prisons – add an extra dollar or two to your order, and we will match it with a like amount and send a gift book to a prisoner.

Order Form

Akwesasne Notes
Mohawk Nation
Via:
Rooseveltown N.Y. 13683

Ship the items listed below to:–

NAME _____

STREET _____

CITY _____

STATE _____ ZIP CODE _____

HOW MANY	ITEM	PRICE	TOTAL

LETTERS

Bringing Them Back to Reality

NOTES: I commend you all on your invaluable contributions to what will soon be recognized as matters vital to American and modern civilization. Seattle knew that the white man would forever be accompanied in this land by the spirits of the Indian people. D.H. Lawrence envisioned the same.

The Native American occupies a subliminal capacity of profound importance to the consciousness of every man and woman in the nation which momentarily struggles upon his homeland. And as a Third World voice, the Indian offers to bring the national mentality back to reality. Strength and hope.

Peter Webb
Pelham, Massachusetts

Following The Creator's Ways

NOTES: I ask all my brothers and sisters who can live as one with all Creation — where are we now? We sit around talking about how the whites are doing us wrong, and how we will make them wake up to us. I cry out — what's wrong with following the Creator's ways today? Why wait? Yet you turn away from me and hang your head and call me a bad Indian. It's hard for me to look into the old ones eyes.

Bring the Hoop together once again! For many now, this dream of freedom is fading. I ask all my Red Brothers and Sisters — help me bring back our dreams. Let's put our ideas into reality. I ask you from this prison cell where I have nothing to do and so much time to think. I ask you, grandparents, whom I love with all my heart, and I ask especially the young people — how do we once again become One and bring the Hoop together and live with our father sky and mother earth?

Mike Cryingwind Moore 28523-120
POBox 1500
El Reno, Oklahoma 73036

A Younger Sister Writes

NOTES: This letter may not mean much to you, but for me it is important. I am a white 15-year-old girl. A while ago I started to get interested in the native American peoples.

I wish I could know an Indian person that could teach me about life. Before I ever started reading books of Indian people, I was taught that only the white way is the right way. But now I can look at white society from a completely different viewpoint. I know white society is based strongly on materialistic values. The "improvements" or "American Dream" seems to be just growing away from the Source of Life and light which is the earth. If only white people would be willing and wanting to be taught from the native peoples, there would be a better world. I only hope you truly understand what I feel.

Suzanne Boucher
Watertown, Connecticut

Our 'Anti-White' Image Again

BROTHERS AND SISTERS: I hardly know how to express my emotions to you — they are so deep and many. One thought that is especially strong in me is what I believe to be a potentially serious cause for dissension. That is what I perceive to be a strong projection of an "anti-White" feeling. I realize that "anti-Whites" translates to be in reality anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist, but I wonder if not making that more clear could permit development of a distorted image on the part of more casual readers.

I myself am a white, and until too short a time ago, I was a typical product of that system. I learned many things about Life in reflecting on my past, and my tour in Vietnam almost five years ago. For the past 13 months, I have been building and living Vietnam Veterans Against the War/Winter Soldier Organization (VVAW/WSO). This past year has shown me how to save my life by living for the struggle to be free and maintaining that Freedom.

We supported Wounded Knee not only with easy-to-write letters and telegrams, but also with people and supplies, as best we could. How beautiful the growing and deepening and inevitably victorious Love and Unity between all humans and Mother Nature is. And how tragic and hurtful the pain of knowing how much more damaged life will be before Humanity achieves itself.

Gary Kenyon
Rochester, New York

Ana Coelho is Free

NOTES: I'm Ana Coelho, former inmate of California Institution for Women at Frontera. I'm now living in Oregon with my four little people. My story appeared in NOTES last year.

They finally let me out, after two years, which is a long time to be locked up for something you didn't do. They "graciously" reduced my charge from murder to manslaughter and cut me loose. I'm still fighting "them" — my new appeal is to be heard soon in Sacramento, California.

Ana Coelho
Oregon

On the Side of God and Ancestors

NOTES: I compliment you all on your journalism and research on the great destruction of what is left of our natural land surface by government and industry. I post your articles at our university in hopes of influencing more people who might intervene for their future in nature.

Many, many thanks to all the reporters of great heart and conscience at Akwesasne. Though the efforts seem small at times in the face of industrial society's great momentum, please keep in mind the instances in all peoples' histories of great changes for good brought about by sustained effort and determined men and women.

God and our ancestors will always be on your side.

Carl Sullivan
Edmonton, Alberta

Muskegon Mohawks' Mascot

NOTES: I would like to become a mascot for the Muskegon Mohawks Hockey Club.

To do this, I first wanted to research the Mohawk Indian so that I would look a "TRUE" Mohawk Indian. I did not want to bring discredit on the Mohawk Nation or its individual people.

I would appreciate any information and especially any pictures of how the great Mohawk Chiefs dressed. I am interested in their winter war clothes especially — the ice arena is not the warmest place to spend dressed in summer dress.

I am sorry to be so ignorant of your nation, but there is little written about the Mohawk Indians.

Robert G. Branyan II
Sparta, Michigan

(Readers are encouraged to reply to the implications of this letter for publication in NOTES. The Editors.)

Taking Traditional Ways Seriously

FRIENDS: I hope people are reacting well to your message and putting it into practice. Perhaps, people who used to laugh at the "traditional" ways of living may take those ways a little more seriously considering the situation now. (The situation that is facing more people has always been with us, but now people can no longer be ignorant of it.) People can not keep taking and taking and never replenishing that source without some bad effect.

There are many who have grown up in societies that encouraged wasteful habits of living and know of no other way of life. But, perhaps now they will listen, because they are faced with very strong examples of what their type of living produces.

Marie Hermanson
San Antonio, Texas

AID in Oklahoma

NOTES: We in the American Indian Defense (AID) thank you for the Indian calendar — it hangs proudly in our office.

Now we are in the growing pains' — we provide help to the Indian inmate, provide food, clothes and shelter to our brothers and sisters who need us. We are poor, but we try our best to do all we can for our people.

It's a hard struggle. Without the help of your paper we can do nothing. We ask you to mention our tasks. We are self-supporting.

Thank you for helping the Indian people. Our prayers are for you. The Great Spirit bless you all. Keep on letting our people know the truth about the times. We are behind you.

Kent F. Poolaw
Box 15
Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005
telephone: (405) 247-3532

Adding Voices to a Choir

NOTES: Excellent, excellent reporting in this last issue. I always wondered who was behind AIM and what sort of persecution followed them around. It really amazes me to think that the "administration" of this society feels it can get away with such nice little items as discrimination, persecution, and even geniocide. Absolutely disgusting.

I seriously don't think the main public is aware of what is happening in both Canada and the U.S. Thanks for calling out with your voice. Perhaps soon we might get a choir going.

Diana Martens
Montreal, Quebec

Brothers in Prison Send Thanks

NOTES: Our library here is very limited concerning literature pertaining to the native Americans, but I am slowly accumulating more and more books that you give me. I plan to donate these books to the prison library in your name.

Marvin L. Tasso 136-712
Box 69
London, Ohio 43140

NOTES: You have sent me such nice books and I really enjoy reading them. Where I am it is very hard to get good books, and you people just give them to me — it is really beautiful to know people like you. Thanks.

Bill Harris
New Hampshire State Prison
Concord, New Hampshire 03301

NOTES: Thanks a million for the book you sent as a gift — I'm very happy to have you as a friend. I didn't know there were people on the outside who are concerned about the Indian brothers that are incarcerated. It's really a great feeling to know we aren't completely forgotten. Thanks for the smile you gave me — you people are simply beautiful.

Frank Bliss
Box 107 W-10
Tehachapi, California 93561

Pages from a Family Album

NOTES: Since I am far away from my family, I get the best information on my family through your newspaper. I have approximately 30 family members in the American Indian Movement.

Marilyn Frank
Mt. Edgecumbe, Alaska

A Memorial to Debbie

PEOPLE: I support your paper as a memorial for Debbie Arquette. I think some of you knew Debbie and she was a very specially wonderful person. Everyone who knew her rejoiced in her wonderful spirit. We miss her.

Bonnie Armstrong
Fayetteville, New York

NOTES Book Well Received

NOTES: Students really like "BIA — I'm Not Your Indian Any More."

Tom Cummings
Ramah Navajo School
Ramah, New Mexico 87321

(This book, published by NOTES, contains the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, as well as the report of the occupation of the BIA headquarters a year ago. Classroom quantities of the book are available at a 40% discount on the $1.95 price. The Editors.)

Appreciative, if not Affluent

NOTES: I may not be among the more affluent of your readers, but you would be hard put to find a more appreciative one.

Gordon Yates
Box 838901 (Folsom Prison)
Represa, California 96671

Be Free to Work and be Creative

FRIENDS: May all of your needs and hopes find fulfillment in the year ahead and may you enjoy complete freedom in which to work and be creative.

Brother Benet
Blue Cloud Abbey
Marvin, South Dakota

The Coming of Whiteman

NOTES: For centuries, this continent was life-giving and life-sustaining, nourished by people who protected the land and all things living on it.

Then came Whiteman. He "civilized" through massacre, theft of land and culture, slaughtered indiscriminately the food supply, he overcut the forests, changed the course of the rivers, turned vast areas to dustbowls, cut the hearts out of the mountains. He plants shopping centers instead of forests.

Whiteman has altered the soul of the land by laying concrete and automobile graveyards from sea to shining sea — the shine comes from oil slick.

We will soon celebrate our 200th anniversery. Perhaps we should celebrate also our 353rd year of occupation of the continent. We have proven our mastery over the land. We have conquered it, and left it weeping and wounded.

Sara Kaufman
Whitestone, New York

Honky Indians

NOTES: I once wrote a letter to NOTES that wasn't printed, and right now I sure am glad that it wasn't. In it, I said forget about the old ways, and go out into the world and be a whitey. I also told about the wonderful job I have, and how nice I have it.

But after reading the Early Winter issue, particularly "Brothers and Sisters" by Carter Camp from his prison cell, I had to stop and think.

I wish that everybody that has even one drop of Indian blood in him could read this article for he has made it easy to tell the difference between an Indian and a honky.

Quote: "I'm doing all right — I got a good job — I'm making it." It's probably useless to talk to lost souls, but I say to them that a person who claims to be an Indian realizes he is responsible for his people. Period. It doesn't matter how much you may look like an Indian, or how much Indian blood you have — if you don't accept your people as your responsibility, you're a honky.

I think Carter Camp has said it all — now I must find my way of helping.

Bobby Colt
Ligonier, Pennsylvania

Indian Nations should be in UN

NOTES: The Indian nations should each be individual members of the UN, just like the African nations. The Indians should have the right to appeal to the UN about stopping the building of that dam which is going to force them to move [James Bay]. We treat them like we treated the buffalo. If they become extinct, that would be a shame, but "that's the price of progress."

Marian Fromer
Philadelphia, Pa. 19124

Love of God and His Gifts

NOTES: There are many of us couples between the ages of 20 and 35 who are now refusing to accept the Christian dogmas. We feel the churches are not teaching the principles the Great Philosopher taught. We are upset over the way the missionaries forced Christ on Indians. I feel the Indian religion is the true one as it teaches love, ecology, love of God and his gifts, preservation of the land and respect for other people.

Mrs. Sandra Augustin Weiss
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Michigan People, Note!

NOTES: I was in the Indian Program for more than 1½ years in Marquette [Michigan] prison, and it was beneficial to all concerned. Since that time I have been released and returned on a parole violation to Jackson [Michigan] prison and the Indian program here stinks.

It's an Indian program in name only — if one was to label it correctly, it would be a pacification program. In Marquette, the following programs are held — culture, language, history, group discussions (members only), a weekly business meeting with an outside guest, and a weekly rap session. There are home and job placement programs, grants for further schooling or vocational training.

The only thing permitted within the walls of Jackson is a bi-monthly meeting where one is to take care of all business matters, and guests are permitted to visit twice monthly. So, as you can see, my cry for help is justified.

In closing, I'd just like to say . . . "HELP!"

James Bear Campbell 118918
POBox E
Jackson, Michigan 49201

LETTERS

No Shame in Being Me

NOTES: As a student of journalism, I enjoy the very professional composition of NOTES. As a Brother, I enjoy the feeling I get from reading NOTES, a feeling that somehow, in spite of past and present transgressions, there is no shame in being who I am, no futility in striving for goals striven for those who passed before.

Tommy Timmendiquas Rhodes 028233 F-22
POBox 221 (Union Correctional Institution)
Raiford, Florida 32083

Can James Bay Be Stopped?

FRIENDS: There is one major issue today: "Can the James Bay Project be stopped?" The future existence of the several Indian and Canadian Nations jointly rests on this controversy. Your newspaper has done much toward publicising an incident in history which may have otherwise gone unnoticed. Thanks also must go to the "Last Post", perhaps the only free press in Canada.

Greg Enright
Squamish, British Columbia

The Place I Pray For

NOTES: From the time I was young, I have had dreams and visions of fighting and sometimes dying for the Native People of this country, and dreams of living in the Old Way. When I am in the woods and lonely, I pray to the Great Spirit and he comforts me by sending a squirrel for me to watch, or a hawk to soar down and say with his call that I am not alone. This is the way I want to live.

I pray for a place full of roundness where I can hunt and live and where a family could grow. I search for this place. How can a man with no money find a place without being shot at or arrested, for wanting to live the way the Creator wanted some people to live? I want to fight for this country — not for the Government, but for the land, and for my cousins that fly and swim and run through the woods, streams, and sky of this land.

Thirsty Fox
Philo, California

The Red Wind Foundation

NOTES: The Red Wind Foundation has been getting itself together. We are purchasing 200 acres of land in the Los Padres National Forest, about 35 miles from Santa Margarita, California. There are 80 people residing there, representing 25 different native American nations, living together, working and learning about ourselves and the People. We are reacquainting ourselves with our teachings given and known by our People generation after generation.

The camp is supported through a program of self-help and self-reliance. Members of the organization are utilizing arts and crafts supplies by making beadwork, leatherwork, paintings, silversmithing, and various crafts. We are chopping wood at a special price to senior citizens groups, and sometimes tearing down old buildings for the lumber. Donations of all types at this time is still very vital to us. Now we mostly need foods, tools, lumber, and a few car and truck parts and/or a truck.

Permanent land use, a permit approved by the San Luis Obispo County Supervisors, is sought. We are living under the graces of a "conditional use permit" which means we are trying to comply to the law and also lessen the hassles.

Architectural students of California Polytechnical State College have offered their technical assistance. Now their function is to be a liaison between our plans for traditional dwellings and the Board of Supervisors with their building codes. Traditional Chumash housing, which is a roundhouse made with a willow frame, has to be officially tested for durability. The Navajo hogan may be an alternative. Building codes presently are not made with traditional native lodges in mind.

Brothers, we have been keeping NOTES on our minds and in our prayers.

Andrea & DD Quiroz
Red Wind Foundation
POBox 518
Santa Margarita, California 93453

Whites Can't Be All Bad

NOTES: Very often I see letters in your paper referring to supposedly all-bad, totally destructive, inherently evil groups of people (usually meaning the white race or certain white cultural groups.) It's not quite that simple.

It is impossible to justify calling groups of peoples as wholes "bad". What I am trying to say is that not within cultures, not within races, not within groups, not within families, but within individual single people are good and bad mixed to form a whole. No person is all good or all bad, and since every group of people — from family to culture — is composed of individuals, the same balance of good and evil exists on all levels. Thus to call a group all bad is insanity and to call a race all bad is, to me, absolutely incomprehensible.

Everything must be traced down to individuals to determine its real cause. Everything in the natural world is composed of perfect wholes in a state of balance. All of them together make up the perfect whole of the earth. The human race is such a balance composed of "good" and "evil" — but this good and evil cannot be defined broadly — it is truly individual.

There is good in everyone — all people must realize this before carelessly judging and blaming.

Sarah Underhill
Alfred, New York

(Readers are invited to respond to this letter. We must mention, though, that groups of people, like Western nations, do operate as a system. If that system exploits other people, its members (often sharing in the bounty) cannot cop out by saying I'm a good person so don't blame me. They have an obligation to see that their governments, corporations, churches, agencies, organizations, and individuals behave well toward other peoples. Until then, the fact that others are critical and perceive their people as "bad" is an unfortunate burden they must carry. The editors.)

America Is Soon To Fall

NOTES: America is soon to fall and with it will go the whole western capitalistic world. We've been warning this nation for over five years now and the time is at hand. I don't believe you have to be a prophet of God to see just that happening to America.

So what can be done? I believe that the Great Spirit could really use the power of your pen to help your people to see what really is happening here in America, and instead of fighting Capitol Hill, which seems to be leading nowhere, that possible the wisest thing that could be done is to prepare yourselves for the fall of America . . .

Whenever you see a thunderhead forming in the distant clouds, you know that a storm is coming and you get prepared for it if you are wise. Before the main blast of the storm there is a lull, a calm before the storm, and that is where America is at today.

Gamaliel Forester
Children of God
Washington, D.C.

The Taino People of Puerto Rico

NOTES: I am perplexed by a letter signed by Great Wolf's Spirit who spoke very indignantly about the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, saying NOTES should "stop sticking our necks out by printing articles about the leftist groups of Puertoricans for Independence or others."

The native peoples used to live under communism. When the white men came, it was they who brought the vice of colonialism and subjugated your people and my people and then handed us over to imperialism. So now we live under two vices: colonialism (in many shapes and forms) and United States imperialism, the highest phase of capitalism. This is why we must come together from the four directions of the earth, back into the inner circle, and fight for our true political identity.

Before 1493, Colombus' second voyage, there existed this island called Boriquen, and on this island existed a highly cultured people. They were known as Taino. That island is today called Puerto Rico. But among many independistas, it is still recognized as Boriquen.

Brother, the Spaniards and the Americans have always taught that the Indians of Boriquen were completely exterminated — but this is another white lie. We are still around, and still striving to liberate Puerto Rico so it can truly reflect a more perfected form of communalism, the heritage that we have received from the Taino, Arawak, and Igneries.

I hope this reply to your letter is found adequate to your search for truth. We are all searching for truth because only truth can guide the arrow of the nataino (warrior) to the real target. I remain your guaitiao (blood brother) in struggle.

Que viva Wounded Knee!
Que viva Puerto Rico Libre y Socialista!

Salvador Agron 28298
Boricua Revolutionary Nationalist Organiza.
Box 149 (Attica Prison)
Attica, New York 14011

The Arapaho Nation is Concerned

PEOPLE OF THE LONGHOUSE: The people of the Arapahoe Nation in Central Wyoming enjoy reading NOTES. The concern for Indians is just as much our concern, reading about our people all over and what we can do to help each other.

Gary Medicine Cloud
Rachel Goggles
Ethete, Wyoming

The Koshare Dancers Again

NOTES: The so-called "Koshare Dancers" have burned me up for a long time. These white men have real Indian outfits befitting that of the highest of chiefs. How these overgrown Boy Scouts have obtained these is anybody's guess. I have attended pow-wows and have seen the pitiful sight of a white man dressed up in these outfits — flaunting what is sacred to us, making a mockery of ceremonial dances and sacred traditions. To us, these are acts of prayer, giving thanks to the Creator — but to these white men, it seems nothing more than a hobby, something they do for kicks.

They even hold their own "shows," charge admission and sell popcorn and candy, a real carnival. And a real cultural rip-off. It's just like the little made-in-Japan otem poles and soapstone figures sold at souvenir shoppes.

A Koshare Dancer "in costume"

If an Indian were to don a priest's robes and give the sacraments, White Society would put an end to him. Why then, do white men continually infiltrate sacred Indian ceremonies and then wonder why we take offense. They take and take and take and don't give a damn.

Mrs. Ruth Shawanda
Sudbury, Ontario

I Have Caused Great Harm

NOTES: I have caused great harm and despair to myself, my brothers and sisters, to my mother and father, and also to my Creator — for it is his creation I see and walk upon.

My Creator has given me a voice to speak and sing with. A mind so that I may think of the spiritual life he might give me after my life is gone. He has given me eyes to witness the high mountains and ears to hear his voice.

I have seen the weak, so that is why I know I am so. I have seen death, and know that someday I too will be gone. I have seen love and know what love can do, and I have seen hatred and I am sorry I have hated. But I am seeing life and that is why I am glad that I live.

Eliit-Palmer
Toppenish, Washington

On Writing to Congressmen

NOTES: I noted your statement that readers can help by building support of the Twenty Demands sent to Washington by the Trail of Broken Treaties. Please — whenever there is a chance to aid any Indian cause by writing to a senator or representative, could you print a short, clear notice stating what to ask the senator to support or oppose?

Any Indian delegations coming to Washington that I could help with information can call me at 783-6505, extension 232 8:30 to 6:00.

Marita Treat
Washington, D.C.

(NOTES will try to do this. Specifically about the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, readers are asked simply to request congressmen and senators to introduce legislation which would implement the Twenty Points so that hearings can be held to discuss them. Indian Affairs Subcommittees in each House of Congress have copies of the Twenty Points. Editors.)

Is the Great Spirit Male?

BROTHERS AND SISTERS: I am writing to express my disappointment in the letters written by Russell Means and Carter Camp when they were in jail (last issue of NOTES).

Most of their philosophies I can agree with, except for their mention of Indian women. Means infers that the reason Indian women are and were the strength inside Wounded Knee 1973 is because "the Redwoman carries the future of the American Indian Nation within her." Then Redwomen are to be solely appreciated for our procreative powers?

Even Sally, "the finest example of an American Indian" is just that because she cooked, cleaned, washed and never complained. What I am asking is, are Redwomen to be renowned and appreciated in the Red culture for the same sexist things that white women are renowned and appreciated in the white culture? The fodder for generations to come?

Also, since when did the Great Spirit take on male connotations — Grandfather?

Carter Camps's letter is even worse in this respect because he implies that the reason the Red people have fallen is solely because the Indian mother has failed in her duties to perpetuate the Indian Man. I believe Camp has neglected to mention the Indian fathers part in raising the family — or in this do we accept the white man's ways again and let the mother bear, raise, feed, clothe, teach, love the children while the father stands aside in financial servitude?

It is regrettable that obvious sexism is so taken for granted by our respected leaders when racism against Indian women would be a matter of life and death. It is my fervent hope that this darkening shadow be quickly lightened by egalitarianism lest other Indian women be alienated also.

Elizabeth Fry
Spokane, Washington

All Wolves Are Honest

NOTES: Since I'm coming to Mohawk Nation to work full-time for NOTES, this may be the last letter to the editor I'll write for a few years. In the article, "For If the Indian People Die . . ." in the last issue, there is a reference to "honest wolves like Kent Frizzell" as opposed to "dishonest ones."

Wolves are being exterminated in the areas of this continent where they still survive as a direct result of the false stereotype this helps perpetuate. It should seem familiar that a group is being systematically wiped out on the pretext that its members are bloodthirsty killers who menace civilized existence.

Wolves are creatures of tremendous beauty and power. Farley Mowat, author of "People of the Deer," has written quite a bit on the destruction of the great caribou herds in northern Canada and the resultant destruction of the inland Eskimos and the consequent slaughter of the wolves, who, incredibly, are blamed for the decimation of the herds with whom they have lived in balance for hundreds of thousands of years.

Would the Canadian Government officials who direct this have been so ready to accept this unbelievable charge against wolves had the European/Euro-American wolf-hating tradition not been so deeply ingrained in them? If you printed an apology to wolves in the next issue, it might raise someone's consciousness about wolves, who are being slaughtered by the direct heirs to the mentality responsible for slaughtering Indians.

Gayle High Pine
Chicago

NOTES has received many letters commenting on the struggles of Palestinians and Israelis in the Middle East. Some letters compare North American native people with Israelis and their realization of a homeland after many years. Others say the Palestinians and native people are fighting the same cause — one of liberation from settlers on their lands. We have published some of these letters but we have received so many about this very complex situation that we feel any further partisan commentary serves no useful purpose in NOTES. Those persons interested in the Middle East situation should consult the many excellent journals containing information on this subject. We are grateful, though, for the many letters we have received.

Pennsylvania Indians Organize

NOTES: American Indian residents of Pennsylvania have formed an organization, the Pennsylvania Coalition of American Natives and Indian Associations to represent all Indians and Indian groups in the state. Some of the group's primary goals are in the areas of education, welfare, improving the economic conditions of the native Americans in the state, and equal justice before the law. On the board of directors are James L. Crews, Charles Juancito, William Lynch, Reginald Saunders, Jimmy Little Turtle, Russell Simms, and William Hayes.

James Crews
POBox 2143
Harrisburg, Pa. 17105
telephone 652-5967 or 787-4810

Life in the Boarding Schools

NOTES: I'm seventeen years old, and have been through a couple of boarding schools. I wish to present a problem that affects and dents the pride of every Native American — our Indian boarding schools.

We need a better education system in our schools, not to be taught things that our small brothers and sisters should already know. Not ideas and pressure that will assimilate and destroy the pride of our young people.

In the Indian boarding schools, the educational level is so low and unchallenging that the students soon lose interest in their studies and begin to seek other activities, ranging from alcohol and drug abuse to minor delinquency. They result in expulsion, or restriction of privileges. For the student who is restricted and becomes angry, the major choice, he will continue with the delinquency in a more careful/quieter manner as soon as his restriction term is over.

The student who is expelled from school will find unhappiness in his home and his life. He will try a public school, but find that the challenge is too great, the education too far advanced. This will lead him into a crisis of trouble with the law, or a very dull low-paying job at the factory or back at the ranch.

So you see, Native American People, the problem concerns your sons and daughters — therefore your community and family life.

Sherrole Benton
Green Bay, Wisconsin

Look at the Birds of the Air!

NOTES: Life in the "new" World is very complex and brutal. What can we do before there are more tears and pain over the face of the earth, so that we the people of the earth can see our families now so separated with our children forever denied universal embrace?

Look at the birds of the air, so much more delicate than us, and wonder why we cannot as they, many feathered and many colored, share the earth as they share the sky, in harmony as was meant.

I am listening with you to the truth.

Karen Reeves
New York City

I Am Losing My People

BROTHERS: It was with a heavy heart I read in NOTES the article, "Brazil — Development and Death" (Early Autumn issue). I was born in Ceara (Northeast) Brazil, my mother of the Tabajara Tribe, and my father Portuguese. I married an American officer in 1944, and have lived since in U.S.A.

In 1957, I returned to Brazil for two years. I went on what my friends called a dangerous adventure into Matto Grosso and Goiaz. To me this was a child's dream realized — I made the trip on a small boat for hire on the Araguaia River, which divides the two states above mentioned, to the Ilha do Bananal, where I visited with the Caraja Indians, and left there to the region of the Xingu to the post of Orlando and Claudio Villas-Boas. I spent several weeks learning, probing, for I was hungry for knowledge.

I read your paper from cover to cover with zealous interest, for in it I have found the Truth I have always sought. I am very proud of my heritage, and it pains my heart to see what the so-called Civilization has destroyed and distorted.

Stella Gelardi,
Levittown, New York

Print More on the Earth

BROTHERS: Print more on the Earth, since the earth is our Mother and all life comes from her (and the Sun). Don't you think you ought to devote more room to that subject — wild foods, conservation, crafts. You should help people get back in touch with the land and the arts in their culture.

Jinny May
Westlake, Ohio

The Truly Important Things

FRIENOS: I have been getting your wonderful paper for over two years now and just had to write and tell you how much it means to be able to share in the love the Indian people have for one another and for our Mother Earth.

I have never been rich, but wanted a nice home and new model car, clothes to make the usual appearance, I guess, to keep up with the Jones and others. But since I have been reading your paper, learning about your people and reading many books about how your people love God's gifts instead of man's, I have come to know the trees again and can see stars clearly — millions.

I have come to know just what the truly important things in life are, and came to know myself and found a peace within myself. Its like being reborn again.

This country is soon going to celebrate its 200th anniversary. But when I stop and look at the things that has been done to this country, I feel it is rather a time of sadness.

We are now faced with an energy crisis, but we will dig for oil offshore, pollute the ocean, killing the fish, putting in pipelines, stripping the coal, killing the earth. Wonder what the white man with two cars and electric marvels is going to eat? Somehow, I imagine the Great Spirit is sitting back and smiling sadly and thinking to himself — you did it to yourselves. Then looking at the Redmen, the Great Spirit would say, "Here is your country again. There isn't too much of it left — but it's yours. I'll help you to start anew. Only you treated My earth as I intended it to be treated."

Judith Lewis
Brownwood, Texas

Que Viva La Causa!

HERMANOS Y HERMANAS: Muchas gracias for the papers you sent us. The older issues seemed as relevant now as then, and that cannot be said of many newspapers.

We were very impressed by your attempt to unite the struggle of Native Americans here with the Indian brothers in Mexico and South America.

Que viva la causa!

Peter Hatch
The Huelga School
105 Astl St.
Delano, California

Before It is Too Late

NOTES: Your publication is invaluable for its content and its message. The American Native has an enormous task ahead of him — he and she must bring all men (particularly the white man) back to his sanity and humanness. He and she must bring us back to the Earth, our Mother.

It greatly troubles me to see white Americans ignoring the plight of the Indian. It troubles my spirit to see the white man taking the Indians' land, culture, beliefs and "Americanizing him". When will the white man learn to stop destroying the complex ecosystem for profit and "recreation?" I sincerely hope that your paper will be able to convey this most important message before it is too late for all of us.

Bob Hibbard

We Need Leaders Who Have Vision

NOTES: It was very considerate of you to remember us here. We would like you to know that we are encouraged by the good work that you are doing. We are encouraged by your articulation of our problems. The overall perspective that you present is so necessary to formulating a unified approach to the development of our people as well as the development of understanding in the world in which we must live. This formulation of development is true leadership — and it is leadership in which we must believe, not leaders.

In order to advance, we must have direction — therefore, we must have leaders who have a vision. You are opening many eyes.

Terrence Blake Fyfe, Secretary
Native Brotherhood
Collins Bay Institution
Box 190
Kingston, Ontario

Our Future is Important, Too

NOTES: Native Americans have a colorful and interesting past. However, their future is as important. Why, then, is it that in well-established museums there is almost no mention of where the Indian is or where he is going?

There is a need for change in today's museum — they must stop trying to kill the Indian culture by portraying it as being only relevant to the past.

Patricia Doris
River Vale, New Jersey

Ottawa, Take Notice!

NOTES: I had a dream in which the "apples" expelled all the missionaries, and became Indians again.

Unfortunately, this caused a severe unemployment crisis resulting in the collapse of the Canadian economy.

Peter Frank
Oakville, Ontario

Thanks to Those Who Cared

NOTES: I first came about this paper when I was in the brig at Camp Pendleton, Calif. Once a week Steven Stallings and other brothers and sisters who cared about us came to the Brig from the Indian Center to visit and bring us word from the outside.

To me and the other Indians there at the brig it was the only time worth looking forward to.

Jack Brown,
Georgia

FRIENDS: We all pray for the AIM, BIA, Indian Police, Poverty Programs, and Housing Programs that there will be Justice and Mercy Mercy and Peace and Happiness for all.

I pass out the paper you sent me to others. So keep sending it — we can all learn how to make adjustments to have Justice, Mercy, and Peace.

The Rev. Daniel Madlon O.S.B.
Crow Creek Indian Reservation
Fort Thompson, South Dakota 57339

NOTES: Nelson Begay should be ashamed. (Letters to Editor, last issue). If you read NOTES at all, you would see the real cause the folks at Akwesasne are behind: hungry kids, the land, the future of our people. He might be one of our people who has been brainwashed. We should take pity on him, for he is not acting like an Indian.

Helen Becker
Varysburg, New York

WE REMEMBER

Ernest Valenzuela, 27, Pima, was murdered November 8 inside Leavenworth Penitentiary. He died of multiple stab wounds after lying for half an hour while guards sought "permission" to send him to the hospital. He had been active in two causes: as a native, and as secretary for the National Gay Prisoners Coalition. John Gibbs, 86976-132, Box 100, Leavenworth, Kansas 66048, is heading a campaign to gain an investigation of his death, and to return Ernest's body to his native Pima land. While he is free now, we mourn.

Tom Karp, a friend and reader of NOTES, passed into the Spirit World in San Francisco. His people in Syracuse and his many friends on this land memorialized his life by support of the work of AKWESASNE NOTES, as Tom was a great believer in that work. He is mourned and remembered by those who knew him.

Maori Relatives Greet Us

TIHEI MAURIORA: Ki te Whai Ao, Ki te Ao Marama. He Po, He Po, He Ao, He Ao, Takiri mai te ata, Korihi te matu, Ka Ao, Ka Ao, Ka Awatea.

Greetings, brothers and sisters of the Indian Nation from Nga Tamatoa in New Zealand. We are the first really active Maori liberation group working for the native people of this country and we relate strongly to your cause which is the same as ours. The translation of our name "Nga Tamatoa" is "Sons of the Brave" and we have suffered the same treatment as your people in land and culture. Enclosed is a letter expressing solidarity with the stand at Wounded Knee.

Michael Walker, Secretary
Nga Tamatoa Council
POBox 197245, Ponsonby
Auckland, New Zealand

More News from Maori-land

NOTES: I read of your publication in a new magazine here in our homeland called "Rongo" (meaning God of Peace and Cultivation in Polynesian mythology.) This magazine is a voice for our Maori (native) people which airs grievances and problems affecting our minority.

I have just finished reading "Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee" by Dee Brown. I found it very illuminating but sickening. Sickening in the repetition of broken treaty and massacre.

Our country was colonised in similar fashion. Today, the whites say, "We are all one" only so long as they can call the tune. Last month I met a Cherokee who is working over here — I found him interesting as our struggle is similar. This was at a tangi (Maori death) — my grandfather, 87 years old, passed away. The rites of us are in ways similar to your people.

Do you people hear of the struggle of the Australian Aborigine? Just now they seem to be receiving a bit of publicity re the dismissal of a top government official, an Aborigine who called his white minister "a racist."

A book I am reading at the moment is "Wretched of the Earth," by Franz Fanon.

Noel Oriwa Harris
Wellington, New Zealand

North Carolina's New Reservation

NOTES: Here in North Carolina, if the Indians keep coming to prison, half of us will be here. Indians seem to get longer terms, and there is a struggle here for identity — nobody seems interested in the Indian behind bars.

We write at least six letters each and every week for support of native people in jails and prisons throughout the state with no luck at all — now we ask the people of NOTES for help. We want to make it clear that we are not asking for money — many of us have no family and would like to hear from people on the outside. A letter from anybody will be welcomed. We would be grateful for any help White Roots of Peace and AKWESASNE NOTES may be able to give.

The Brothers and Native People at Central Prison.

Bobby Littlewolf Knight
835 W. Morgan St.
Raleigh, North Carolina 27603

Whence Reconciliation?

NOTES: In the last issue, Gayle High Pine speaks with intelligence and persuasion. It would be impossible for me to find real argument in my heart with her words. What is going on in such exchanges of letters is not hard to know, nor is it hard to guess how bone-wearying it is to hear Oppressors plead for love and understanding.

But I will affirm for myself that as a white man I refuse to hate myself or my beloved parents or their parents before them and all the sadnesses and wonders of their own lives. I affirm also that I will not give up what rationality I can sustain as I look toward the heart of the universe.

I cannot prescribe how others should live. I know, I feel, that we should not hurt each other in the real ways . . .

The letters in your paper talk of rage. Of course we rage. We are filled with the emotions of our cells and of our separate births. Thus when I in turn hear my loved ones scorned and attacked in terms of strong and hateful labels, I too am angry for the sake of my loved ones, because I know their good hearts and the gropings of their lives . . .

I do not encompass you, Gayle High Pine, but you do not encompass me either. We are surrounded and overborne.

Steven Moll
New York City

The Apache Hide-Out At Whitewater Canyon, New Mexico

What
they
saw

(Butch
Cassidy
and

the
Hole
in

the
Wall
Gang)

as
they
moved

along
the
floor

of
White-
water

Canyon
was
all

the
Apaches
in

the
world
(against

the
evening
sky.)

Man
you
should

have
seen
those

gringo
bandidos
haul

ass
outa
there.

— L.S. Fallis

An Old Chief's Vision Of The Spirit World

We will drink
the red bark tea
together
watch the smoke flaps
blowing
in the soft
autumn wind
hear the night raven
tell of the long sleeps
to come
we will build our lodge
with the feathers
of the mighty eagle
bed down
on the rich grassy robe
of a sacred
white buffalo
and eat
the red meat
of the buck
our life
will be a strung bow
of glorious sunrises
from which the arrow
of our days
will soar forever

— Ross Laursen

tree — my brother

place my hand
on his rough side
feel his lifespirit
beating our old songs

telling me stories
of skittering snow-creatures
hitching up
windhowling hills
the lonely
beauty at night

let the songs
play slow games
with my being his
songs make their

cycles in my heart
the heart
makes its cycles
in the world

— pineappie

I SEE WITH MY OWN EYES

"The maker of this song, while in the spirit world, asks and receives from the Father some of the old arrows with which to kill buffalo . . ."

— James Mooney

Give me the arrows.
They have come, they have come.

Grey light rims sky;
Earth yawns.

Give me the arrows.
Father give them to me.
Rivers flow among cottonwoods;
Tipis rise against the dawn.

They have come;
I shall eat pemmican.

"At one time, I thought all I could ever be is a drunk. When I found out I could fight for my people, I became a man . . ."

— Pedro Bissonette

I became a man
And blood flowed from my fingers;
I stepped on paper flowers,
I walked among wreaths.
Give me the arrows.
The herd blazes in the gold of morning.
All I could ever be
ever be
is a drunk, a drunk.
They have come, they have come.
They stink the stench of rot.
I ate the golden animal;
I drank the stench.
Father give them to me.
I grunted in his grunt,
And lay off my clothes
So that the hoof
Could trod my naked flesh.
All I could ever be
ever be . . .
I heard Crazy Horse,
I heard Rain-In-The-Face
ever be . . .

Deliberate aim was taken
And brain crushed, breast crushed
Into the wind-swept dust
Of the empty prairie,
The tried river with leafless cottonwoods
The herd thundered through
The paper flowers of my grave.
Give me the arrows.
I found out I could fight for my people!
I found out
I could fight
for my people!

I went to the mountain
I went to the mountain,
I went to the Spirit
of the river,
of the sky.
I stood in the sun . . .
hungry, thirsty . . .
To await my dream.
The mountain rumbled;
Springs broke open in the rocks,
I drank clear water.
Dizzy in the sun dream
I became a man.
I see with my own eyes.
When I became a man I became a shadow;
When I became a shadow I became a Light.

There is still a dry river,
A felled cottonwood,
An empty prairie, empty;
There is a saloon in Tulsa,
A jail in Denver,
A welfare office in Oakland,
A grave in South Dakota.
All I could ever be is a drunk
is a drunk . . .

Now in the lands of the Father
I call out:
Give me the arrows.
I will place them in your hands
Not to avenge blood
But to keep strong hearts?
Not to avenge the paper flowers
Some gentle child brought
As a gift to death . . .
I would place these arrows in your hands
To hold the lodge,
To hold the sacred tree,
To tighten the sacred hoop
Surrounding the holy fire;
And in your grey and toothless age
Smile upon your young
As they walk, hungry and thirsty . . .
In the face of the sun,
In the embrace of the Spirit, the Father . . .
To the holy mountain to have their dreams.
They will become men
for the people.

— Maurice Kenny

BIRD OF POWER

Boom
The shrill whistle of the wolf
The steady pounding of buckskin
Boom
The first thunderbird appears.
Clad in blood, ash, and cloud feathers
Head and wing strike to the sun
Streaming over the rain-drenched hills
And musky, salt ocean.
Then feeling the power of 5,000 prayers
He dives into the raging winter ocean.
From the turbulent waters of morning mist,
Theu-kloots flies with strokes of thunder
To the west, in circles, over isle.
It drops the ebony blackfish
On the shell-beaten shore.
Boom
The last pound of the drum.

— Jim Tollerud

I DO NOT WANT TO DIE A WHITE MAN'S DEATH

I do not want to die a white man's death
Sealed alone inside a metal box —
Polite and sterile with my final breath
Dark suit, a tie, white shirt, shined shoes and socks.
Give nourishment to feed me in my journey
and dress me not in store-window display.
No need to sit around in all your finery
Pretending someone wanted it that way,
Just death, another curving in the circle
I journey. This is not an end, my friend.
Mourning into darkness into morning . . .
My beginning taking root within my end.
No markers made of stone and laid above me
It's just my body in the ground below.
My spirit moves among the friends that love me.
The end?
My friend, the answer must be "no."

— Bob Bacon